

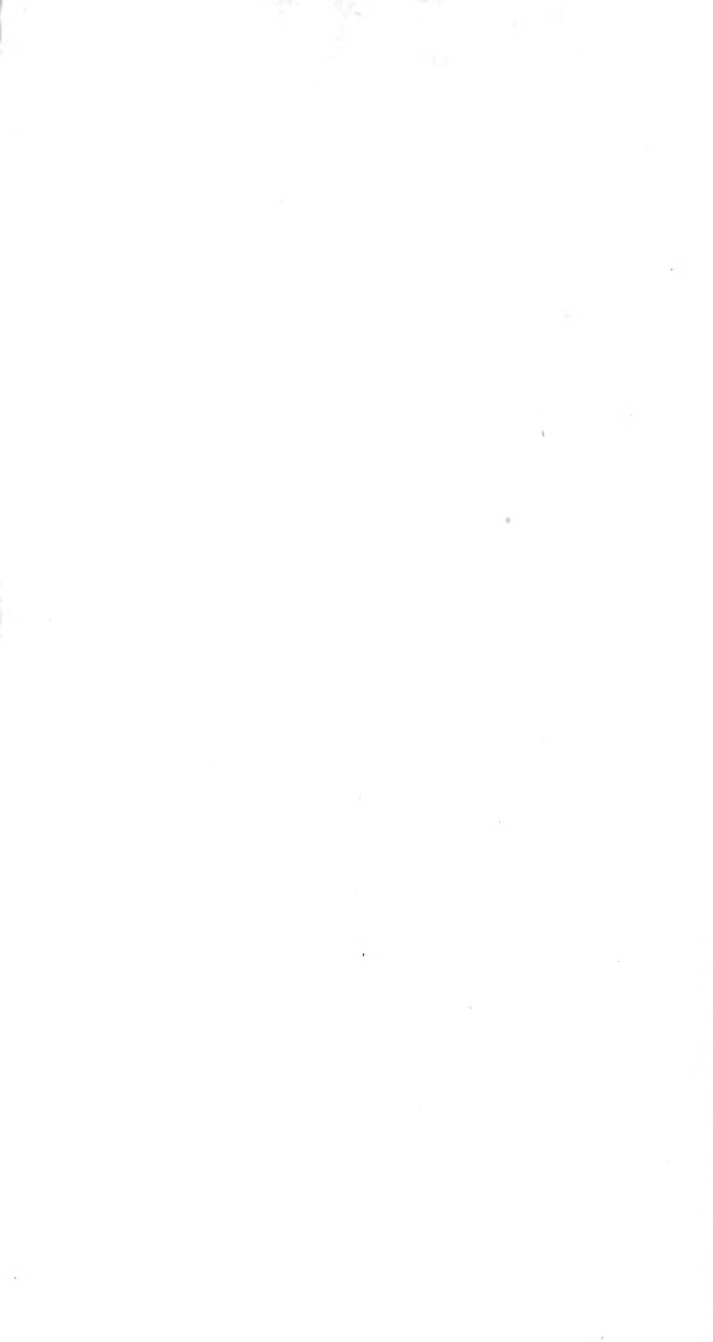


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ALI PACHA

of Janina.

THE
L I F E
OF
A L I P A C H A,

OF JANINA,

VIZIER OF EPIRUS,

SURNAMED

Aslan, or the Lion:

FROM VARIOUS AUTHENTIC DOCUMENTS.

“ In marble-paved pavilion, where a spring
Of living water from the centre rose,
Whose bubbling did a genial freshness fling,
And soft voluptuous couches breath'd repose,
All reclined; a man of war and woes;
Yet in his lineaments ye cannot trace,
While Gentleness her milder radiance throws
Along that aged venerable face.
The deeds that lurk beneath and stain him with disgrace.”

Lord Byron's Childe Harold, Canto II.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR LUPTON RELFE, 13, CORNHILL.

1822.



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P R E F A C E.

BIOGRAPHY has ever been justly esteemed the most interesting, as well as the most instructive branch of literature. While the historian delights us with profundity of reflection, the poet with the charms of numbers, the wit with brilliancy of imagination, and the novelist with interesting situations, the biographer, by an impartial display of the virtues and failings of our nature, arrests our undivided attention, and instructs us how to imitate the one, and how to avoid the other. But great as may be the interest of biography in general, it becomes irresistible when the subject of the memoir has been contemporaneous with ourselves, and has (if we may be allowed the figure) formed a link near our

own in the great chain of human existence; for it is then that we feel ourselves more deeply affected by the contemplation of actions, the effects of which have influenced, and perhaps may still influence, our own happiness. If the justice of these reflections be admitted, but little apology will be required for presenting the public with the life of a man who, whether considered as a political adventurer, or a private individual, may be ranked among the wonders of the present age.

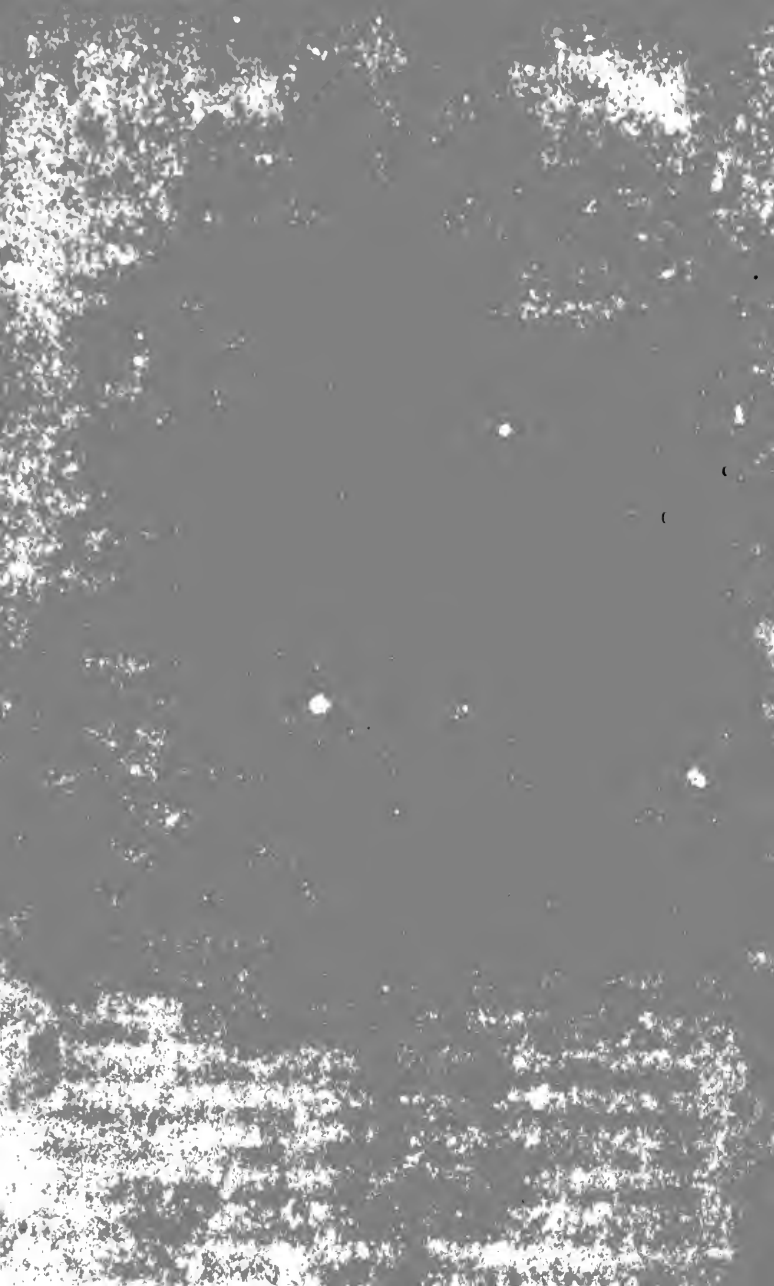
As a political character, Ali Pacha, notwithstanding his distance from the centre of European politics, has succeeded in making his name famous by identifying it with events which now excite the most intense interest. It has been observed, that extraordinary times produce extraordinary men; but the converse is true with regard to Ali, if to him may be attributed the present glorious struggle of the Greeks for liberty and independence.

As an individual, the Vizier of Epirus, while he raises our horror and indignation at his crimes,

astonishes us by the extraordinary energies of a mind at least a century beyond those of his countrymen in intelligence. Some few traits of benevolence are observable; but they are like the oases in the desert.

Upon a character so strongly marked as that of Ali, any further observations to assist the general reader in forming a true estimate, appear wholly unnecessary; the Editor will, therefore, merely remark in conclusion, that he has taken as his groundwork for the present Memoir, M. Beauchamp's French work, "Vie d'Ali Pacha," which he has considerably enlarged by the occasional introduction of interesting passages from the works of some of those who have visited the late Tyrant of Epirus.

October, 1822.



INTRODUCTION.

THE great European celebrity acquired by the Vizier Ali, pacha of Janina, justly entitles that tyrant of *classic ground* to a biographical notice, in which the fidelity of history shall neither be disfigured by exaggeration nor compromised by falsehood. Tyranny is in itself sufficiently odious without attempting to render its features still more disgusting by distortion. The faithful description of the life of a tyrant may even afford instructive lessons to those nations, who, living under mild and beneficent laws, are notwithstanding infected with a mania for political revolutions; at least, it will be useful to shew them that wicked characters and ungovernable passions are the natural consequences of tyranny.

Ali Pacha, whether considered in his elevation or his fall, must be allowed to claim a distinguished place in the history of his contemporaries. His character is marked by features the most prominent and decided; but we should ill appreciate it, were we to view it independently of the country which gave him birth, the circumstances

under which he lived, the government to which he owed his elevation, and the ferocious and warlike manners of the people whom he was appointed to command. The glorious deeds of this veteran, grown grey under the weight of arms, and covered with honourable scars, are still celebrated by the Albanians, who, next to Pyrrhus, consider him as the most distinguished of their warriors. Ali himself related with much satisfaction the manner in which he had risen, from being the chieftain of a clan, to the high and important office of Vizier; and was enraptured when he fondly thought he saw himself renewed in a grandson, upon whom he conceived he could not pronounce a finer eulogium, than by predicting that this scion of his race should be like his grandfather—a brave robber, the destroyer of his neighbours and his brethren. There was at least no hypocrisy in the vanity of the modern tyrant of Epirus; such candour is not always to be found in conquerors. With the same frankness and with equal *sang-froid* he related the long series of political assassinations by means of which he became possessed of power.

We should, however, recollect that Mahometanism had imparted the utmost degree of depravity to the rude and savage manners of the Albanians or modern Epirotes, and that therefore when Ali proposed reducing them to order and subjection, he found himself compelled by cir-

cumstances to adopt a despotic form of government, and to rule them with a rod of iron. Without having studied Machiavel, he asserted, that to be firmly seated on the throne of absolute power, his subordinate instruments must be deprived of all they could call their own, and be entirely dependent upon his will and favour even for existence itself. How conformable is this with what we ourselves have witnessed! Hence we may conclude, that without being reduced to precepts, the first principles of tyranny are to be found the same in all countries and in all ages. At a period when usurpation, whether effected by cunning or by force, plays so conspicuous a part on the great theatre of the world, the long prosperity of Ali cannot fail to create a lively interest in the partizans of despotism.

We shall carefully trace the modern Satrap of Epirus through his civil and military career, and it will be interesting to observe how, solely by his own genius, activity, and valour, he successively subjugated the various tribes of Albania.

The description of his Court and government, the recital of his exploits and intrigues, the catalogue of his crimes, the detail of his political connexions—sometimes with France, sometimes with England, according as his interest dictated; in short, a faithful account of his revolt from, or rather of his proscription by, the Grand Seignior,

and of his fall at a period when the attention of Europe was fixed upon him and Greece (then struggling for liberty)—all these combined will contribute to form a biographical essay perhaps unequalled in variety and interest.

We shall preface it by some preliminary observations upon ancient and modern Epirus, upon the character of its inhabitants, and the revolutions of which, even till our own days, it has been the theatre.

Epirus, situated to the north of Greece, and now called Albania, is a wild and rugged country, very elevated, of a cold temperature, presenting few plains, but abounding in excellent pasture: its lakes are embedded in mountains covered with oaks as ancient as the world. The word Epirus signifies, in Greek, *continent* or *terra-firma*; and was thus called by the Greeks of the Ionian islands, in contradistinction to the country inhabited by themselves. Albania may be considered as an epitome of every climate, as a miniature of the severe regions of the Alps. It stretches along the sea-coast for about forty-five leagues, from the Acroceraunian Mountains to the Gulph of Ambracia, the modern Arta. Its breadth is from twenty-five to thirty leagues, from Cape Chimerium to Pindus. The chain of its mountains and the level of its valleys gradually rise from the borders of the Ionian sea to the superior ridge of Pindus, which geographically

separates Epirus from Macedonia and Thessaly. Pindus, so celebrated during the ages of mythology for having been consecrated to the Muses, is now classed among mountains of the second order.

The inhabitants of Epirus strongly partake of the character of their country : like their mountains, they are rugged and uncultivated. Still retaining their ancient reputation for strength and valour, the Epirotes are divided into fourteen different tribes, of which each in its turn has obtained the sovereignty. The part of Epirus first known to the Greeks was the eastern. There a few scattered towns replaced the wretched huts in which the Aborigines sustained life by the primeval food of acorns ; civilization first commenced among the Threspotes, who were nearest to the sea. The mountains of ancient Threspotia were considered by the Greeks as the extreme confines of the world, the land of darkness, the region of night, the kingdom of inexorable Pluto. Being situated more to the east, and observing that the sun disappeared daily behind those mountains, they there placed the gloomy mansions of Tartarus, the abodes of the damned. There also was the Acheronian marsh, now known as the valley of Oraco, whence the fearful and awe-inspiring streams of Cocytus and Acheron rolled their black and fatal waves. Nothing now remains of their former terrors, unless it be that their waters are

occasionally muddy and infectious. To the east of the Threspotes were the Molossi, a warlike people inhabiting the borders of Dodona, a country famous for the Oracle built there by the Pelasgi. This was at first a simple rustic temple, erected in the open air, consecrated to the Dodonian Jove, and surrounded by oaks, from which the prophetic sounds were emitted. Here was also another Oracle, which consisted of a brazen vase continually struck by the iron lashes of a whip grasped by an automaton. The whip was set in motion by the winds. Multitudes repaired hither from all parts of Greece for the purpose of consulting the famous oak consecrated to Jupiter, which predicted the future, and which was considered the most ancient of all known trees. The oracles were delivered by doves perched upon its branches.

Neoptolemus, son of Achilles, having possessed himself of the country*, became the head of a numerous race of kings called the Pyrrhides†, Pyrrhus having been the name of Neoptolemus during his youth, and afterwards given by him to his eldest son. The princes who succeeded him having relapsed into barbarism, their exploits and power remain buried in profound obscurity. The first of whom history makes any mention is called by Plutarch, Tarrutas, and by Pausanias, Tary-

* About 2200 A. C.

† A Greek word, signifying *red*.

pus. It is not to him, but to Aribbas, his grandson, that Justin attributes the civilization of the Molossi. This prince had been brought up at Athens, where he had formed his character after the Grecian models, and had early imbibed a decided taste for the cultivation of literature. "In proportion as he surpassed all his predecessors in knowledge," says Justin*, "the more he was beloved by his people. He was the first king of Epirus who gave laws to his subjects, who created a Senate with annual magistrates, and instituted a permanent form of government. The kingdom itself had been founded by Neoptolemus or the first Pyrrhus, but the manners of the Epirotes were polished and refined by Aribbas."

It was at Passeron, the chief city of the states of Epirus, that the kings upon their accession, after having sacrificed to Jupiter Belliger, swore to govern the people according to the laws; while the people on their side bound themselves to defend, as prescribed by the constitution, the sacred person of their king.

Thus Epirus, which after a lapse of 2000 years has become in some degree the classic land of despotism, was the country which presented, perhaps for the first time, the union of liberty and monarchical power.

Son of a father who had been dethroned and

* Book xvii. ch. 3.

massacred by his subjects*, Pyrrhus II, the renowned Pyrrhus, by the splendour of his deeds entitled his country to the admiration of the world. He was not only descended from Achilles, but all writers agree that Olympias, the mother of Alexander, was nearly related to him. Thus taking Alexander for his model, he longed to be his successor in glory and renown. Having been dispossessed of his kingdom, he recovered it by the valour of his arm. He afterwards waged war with Panthacus, whom he vanquished in single combat. The Epirotes, stimulated by the victory of their prince, and full of admiration at his courage, succeeded in breaking the Macedonian phalanx. Pyrrhus, proclaimed king of Macedonia, lost that kingdom with the same rapidity with which he had gained it, for the desire of having that which he did not possess prevented his securing what was already in his power. Ever intent upon repairing his losses by fresh enterprises, and being called to the assistance of the Tarentines, he marched into Italy, defeated the Romans, and advanced nearly to the gates of Rome; but soon perceiving that, although he might defeat those stern republicans, he could not vanquish them, he changed the theatre of war; and having sailed from Butrotum, the place of his residence, he conquered Corcyra and Sicily in the short space of twenty

* Eacidas, one of the successors of Aribbas.

days. Engaged in a succession of interminable wars, and carried away by his impetuous courage, he perished at the attack of Argos, being first wounded by a woman, and afterwards dispatched by a soldier. Pyrrhus was one of the greatest captains of antiquity, and deserved the place assigned him by Annibal, that of being second only to Alexander. Nor was his merit confined to war alone; he was equally distinguished for refinement and elevation of character, and generosity of soul. Neither cruel in his punishments nor vindictive in his revenge, he never steeped his hands in the blood of his subjects. For two or three reigns after him his successors were weak and spiritless, till at length the Epirotes, disgusted with being governed by mere automatons, divided themselves into different republics. These soon became the prey of the Macedonian dynasty, and remained subject to the kings of Macedon till the defeat of Perseus. The Fates which had presided at the foundation of this kingdom under Caranus, had also fixed the term of its destruction. Paulus Æmilius, the conqueror of Perseus, severely avenged the invasion of Pyrrhus. His cruel mandates were issued from Passaron, the chief city of Epirus, where he had established his headquarters. In one single day seventy towns were pillaged and destroyed, and the slavery of 160,000 Epirotes or Macedonians effected. These unfortunates were sent to Rome, where they were sold. Thus vanished the splendour of Epirus

and Macedonia, till then so flourishing, whose crime was that of having opposed the ambition of that despotic republic, who would tolerate no glory, no liberty, and no independence but their own.

After these disastrous events, the Epirotes were governed by Roman prefects. Twice was the empire of the world disputed within the limits of the ancient dominions of Pyrrhus and Perseus—by land, upon the plains of Pharsalia; by water, in the gulph of Actium or Arta. There Octavius, the conqueror of Antony, founded Nicopolis, or *the city of Victory*, to immortalize the battle of Actium, which had rendered him the master of the Roman universe. By the power of Augustus, Nicopolis arose, as if by enchantment, upon the coasts formerly subject to the dominion of Pyrrhus, within a short distance of Ambracia, a town at first much enlarged by the Corinthians, and which had been one of the chief cities belonging to that prince. After having peopled it by inhabitants from the neighbouring towns, Augustus raised there superb monuments, organised a Senate, instituted games, and granted it fresh immunities and privileges, which in a short time rendered it one of the most flourishing cities of Epirus. Under Constantine the Great Epirus was comprised within the province of Pannonia. Like the rest of Greece, it was favoured by the Emperor Julian, who repaired

several of its towns. It was to Nicopolis that St. Paul carried the seeds of the Christian faith which he had preached in Macedonia, whence it was propagated beyond Pindus.

The Epirotes, subject to the degenerate successors of Constantine, adopted the religious creed of that prince, who, with the cross, had also transferred the throne of the Cæsars to Constantinople. His empire was now fast verging to a decline. Nothing, however, suffered by that unhappy country since the time of Paulus Æmilius could be compared with the devastations committed there by Alaric, the Gothic chief, when he invaded Greece at the head of his northern hordes. Attila also inflicted upon it all the horrors of war about the middle of the fifth century; and it was once more ravaged by a dreadful invasion of the Huns and Bulgarians, who succeeded in establishing themselves there towards the close of the ninth.

Every political tempest which agitated Europe appeared to cast a wave upon the shores of Epirus, which, on its retreat, left a portion of its impure and polluted slime. Various Sclavonian tribes settled there, who, intermingling with the natives, materially contributed to change their manners and corrupt their language. One ancient people, however, predominated, who having overpowered all the other hordes, not only gave to Epirus a new name, but also changed its poli-

tical aspect:—I mean the Albanians, a race of men who, distinct from the Greeks, were known to the ancients as a hardy, ferocious, and warlike people; without, however, their being able to trace their origin with any degree of certainty. They are now generally supposed to be Asiatics, originally from Mount Caucasus. Settled in Epirus from time immemorial, they remained there confounded with the Illyrians, and, according to circumstances, were at different times either the subjects or enemies of the kings of Macedon; and from the summits of their mountains they contributed to the destruction of empires. During the troubles to which the weakness of the Eastern emperors gave rise, the name of Albania was common to the greatest part of Illyria and Epirus. Strangers to the demarcations which have successively divided Epirus into prefectures, consular and senatorial provinces, tetrarchies, and latterly pachaships, the Albanians have classed themselves by idioms or dialects, the roots of which are common to four great tribes or families, viz. the Dgedges, the Mirdites, the Toskides, and the Tziamides, from whom spring several other collateral branches.

Gifted with a vigorous organization, the Albanians, notwithstanding their connexion and intercourse with the Greeks, did not permit themselves to be effeminated by the arts. By adopting Paganism, they had slowly introduced themselves

into social life; but as soon as the secret of immortality was revealed to the Greeks—as soon as the revelation of the Son of God was announced to the nations of the earth, the yet half-civilised savages of Epirus bent low before the holy symbol of Christianity. After this revolution, which materially contributed to the amelioration of their manners, the Mirdites separated themselves entirely from the other tribes. Under the Cæsars of the latter empire, they were the firmest supports of the throne so long as the monarch respected their conscientious scruples; but when schism introduced itself into the church—when a fatal ambition separated Rome from Constantinople, the Albanians of Macedonian Illyria naturally attached themselves to the West, whence the faith of their forefathers had been derived. They remained, therefore, what they had originally been, and were called *Latins*, from the name of the church to which they still remained faithful. United both by their valour and a common faith, and proud of having preserved their religion, the Dgedges and the Mirdites displayed all the majesty of the Catholic worship in the towns of the Higher Albania. A long interval of tranquillity seemed to be insured to the Christians, when a storm, which had been gradually collecting in the East, suddenly burst over modern Epirus. The Turks, having descended from Mount Caucasus and made themselves masters of Asia Minor

and of Thrace, precipitated themselves upon Greece, which was now divided by schism and effeminated by luxury. The Turkish name soon resounded throughout Albania. This was in the fourteenth century. Chio was in the possession of the Genoese; the Venetians occupied the Cyclades and the Morea; while a part of Epirus was under the dominion of the Crale or the king of Servia, a prince named Stephen, who had seized upon Janina, a town which has since become the metropolis of Albania.

It was not till the spring of the year 1380 that the Turks ventured to pass the heights of Pindus. They had already invaded Greece and Macedonia. Following up the victories of his ancestors, the Sultan Bajazet Ilderim (the thunderbolt) had crossed the mountains and the rivers; master of Higher Albania, he was preparing to pass mount Pindus with his army, when the news of Tamerlane's successes, who was laying waste Asia Minor, recalled him to the east, where, on the plains of Ancyra,* he lost both his crown and his life. This event, so famous in history, only delayed for a short time the conquest of Epirus by the Mahometans.

In the year 1422, Amurath, the ninth monarch of the Ottoman dynasty, having ascended the throne, immediately prosecuted the plans of his predecessors against Greece and the Lower Em-

* In 1401.

pire. Vainly did the Epirotes oppose his occupying the passes of Pindus. Terrified by a summons addressed to them by this Prince from his camp before Thessalonica, they resolved to submit; and a capitulation having been agreed upon, on the 9th October, 1431, the Turks entered Janina, which was even at that period a flourishing town.

In the mean time the conqueror of Albania, irritated by some partial revolts, and inflamed with the spirit of proselytism, commanded the vanquished to embrace the religion of the Prophet; and, following the example of their chief, his officers and soldiers, in their turn, became equally intolerant and tyrannical. But, however disposed the inhabitants of the plains might be to obey the haughty mandate, the Mirdites, fearless and unmoved, determined to make head against the storm, and to preserve unshaken their fidelity to the Church. Those who could gain the mountains fled towards the cantons of the Chimera, of Souli, and of Parga, while others took refuge in Peloponnessus. Incessantly harassed and persecuted by the Turks, nothing less than the valour of the Mirdites could have arrested the Turkish hordes at the feet of their mountains; on all sides whole tribes, and several cities, overwhelmed by the irruption of these fanatics, had no other choice than slavery, death, or the abjuration of their religion. Many embraced the latter alternative, and but for the

appearance of Georges Castriot, the hero of Christian Epirus, the apostacy had been general. He was known in Higher Albania by the name of Scanderbeg, or the Bey Alexander, which title he had received from the Sultan himself, at whose court he had been brought up as an hostage, in the same manner as the Romans formerly educated the sons of the kings who were tributaries to their empire. Informed of the distresses of his fellow countrymen, he broke his chains and flew to their assistance. The name of this new Alexander awakened recollections of ancient glory, which inflamed to the height of enthusiasm all the Christians of Higher Albania: they rushed to arms, and led on by their new chief, courageously disputed with the Musulmans the empire of Epirus. The rock of Croïa, which was the strong hold of Scanderbeg, put a stop to the ravages and arrested the success of Amurath. Wherever they appeared the Ottomans were beaten; and although their enemy acted solely on the defensive, the Turkish army was being continually renewed. This contest was protracted to two reigns, under Amurath and Mahomet II. Occupied with designs far more vast, the warlike Mahomet for a time appeared to forget Scanderbeg. In his eyes, this Christian hero was only an isolated rebel, whose punishment might be safely deferred: he did not, however, lose sight of him while fighting and destroying the enemies

he judged more formidable; he maintained an army, if not to destroy Scanderbeg, at least to hem him in the mountains. In this celebrated war, which the haughty Mahomet was the first compelled to conclude, all the glory devolved upon the Albanian prince; and in 1465, he sent an ambassador to his enemy with rich presents, and proposals for peace, or rather for a truce, which were accepted.

The historians of Scanderbeg allot to that prince a greater extent of territory than was possessed by the ancient kings of Macedonia. But it is now ascertained that, correctly speaking, he had only Croia, Lissa, Dyrrachium, and that portion of Musacha which extends along the right bank of the Ipsus. He neither occupied Janina, a town already conquered by the Turks, nor the fortress of Berat, which Amurath had taken in 1440. The pretended kingdom of Scanderbeg must therefore be reduced to the limited territory of Croia; the glory of this prince being rather derived from his great military qualities, than from the extent of the country which owned his sway. As the soldier of Jesus Christ (a title of which he was particularly proud), he was chief of a league of *Latin* Lords, who, under the various titles of dukes, counts, and barons, governed the principal countries in Higher Albania.

His peace with Mahomet II. was of short duration. Scanderbeg had entered into alliance with the Pope, the Venetians, and the King of Naples. The Christian princes took up arms against the Turks, and Mahomet, fearing lest the command of the Crusaders should be given to his able adversary, offered to renew the peace. Scanderbeg refused, relying upon a letter from Pope Pius II. announcing that a Christian army would shortly effect a landing in Epirus. He therefore entered the field, ravaged the Ottoman Empire, but was not supported.

Mahomet, being relieved from all apprehensions of the Crusaders, directed the utmost fury of his vengeance against Scanderbeg and Albania. He dispatched there a fresh army, which was defeated no less than three times, with the loss of thirty thousand men. Mahomet then marched in person at the head of two hundred thousand Turks. The danger was most imminent. Scanderbeg abandoned all his fortresses, and retreated with a flying camp of Albanians to his mountains, from whence he attacked and destroyed prodigious numbers of the Turkish troops. Mahomet now changed his plan of operations: he no longer made a point of taking Croia, but, traversing Albania from one frontier to the other, ravaging it, and putting to the sword all its inhabitants without the least respect to capitulations, he at length forced his valiant foe, who was weakened rather

than vanquished, to yield to him the position he could no longer defend. Scanderbeg, having retired to Lissa, a Venetian town, died there of disease, after having gloriously struggled for twenty-four years against the forces of Amurath and Mahomet. All his efforts, however, only retarded the progress of Ottoman success. Having become absolute masters of Macedonia and Epirus, they there established their overbearing despotism, which, but for the restraints imposed by religious principles, would have been unbounded.

Apostacy made but slow progress among the Albanians after the death of Scanderbeg. The Turks had at length adopted a more tolerant system, fearing that they should otherwise drive these warlike nations to exasperation and despair. Towards the close of the sixteenth century, however, the religion of Mahomet made numerous proselytes among them; and at this period the Porte promulgated a law, which assured the possession of their property to those Albanian families who would bring up one of their children in the Musulman faith. This law was productive of two results: first, that a far less number of Turks settled in Epirus than in the rest of Turkey; secondly, it caused a vast proportion of property to be transferred into the hands of the Musulmans. So great was its ulterior effect, that at various periods villages, towns, and even whole districts, were seen voluntarily renouncing the

religion of their fathers in order to obtain a few political advantages. Such examples are unfortunately not rare even in modern days.

On the other hand, the Christians, by ranging themselves among the warriors of the Crescent, were freed from the servile tribute of the *Caratch*, and treated with particular respect by the Turks, who, at times, trembled before the vigour of their arms. Their courage obtained for them free and independent settlements; chosen captains, having the title of Bey, were appointed to command them; and their franchises and immunities were guaranteed by capitulations with the Sultans. Thus both mosques and churches are to be found among the Albanians, but the frequenters of the former are as little acknowledged by the Turks for true Musulmans, as those of the latter are allowed by the Greeks to be orthodox Christians. Their general reputation is that of having no other God than their interest—no other law than their sabre.

The Albanians, who, ever since the reign of Mahomet II, have crouched beneath the Turkish yoke, were alike forgetful of the ancient renown of Pyrrhus and the modern glory of Scanderbeg: they devoted themselves to the service of the Sultans, and became not only their bravest warriors, but the most inaccessible among their subjects to foreign influence and intrigue.

From the time of Bajazet and Amurath they

have held rank in the different corps of Janizaries, and distinguished themselves in most of the bloody engagements during those two reigns: the battles of Varna and Cassovia attest their undaunted valour as a nation. Subsequently they are to be met with in all the pachaships of the Ottoman empire, and in the Barbaric provinces, as subsidized volunteers, called Arnautes.

The population of modern Epirus is not, however, wholly composed of Albanians: various tribes of Servians, Bulgarians, Valaques, Turks, and Greeks, are to be found there; but at Janina Greeks and Jews are the most numerous. It is not unusual to hear the languages of these different people, or a jargon formed from them, spoken in the same town. The Albanians, however, are the most numerous: they are also armed, and give the law to the rest. Sober, inured to hardships, and accustomed to pillage, their bodies are robust, their look penetrating and haughty. The retaliative law of blood for blood is in full force among them, and the pleasure which they have in shedding the "purple stream of life" marks their characteristic ferocity. Despising the cunning of the Musulman, they declare an open hatred, by manifesting without the least disguise their esteem or their contempt. Robbery is considered amongst them as a part of the national industry, and public theft is the career which first engages the arms of an Albanian. For them it is the road

which conducts to the highest dignities of the state, especially if to the title of Musulman be joined audacity and success. By these means, even in our own times, Passevend Oglou was raised to the pachaship of Vidin ; Ismaël, Bey de Serrés, to the command of Transaxian Macedonia ; and Ali Pacha (whose history we now present) to the pachaship of Janina and the important office of Vizier. The famous Vizier Mustapha Bairactar, and Mehemet Ali, the present viceroy of Egypt, were both of them Albanians.

THE LIFE
OF
ALI PACHA,
VIZIER OF JANINA.

ALI PACHA is generally supposed to have been born about the year 1750, but, from his having always affected to appear younger than he really was, the exact year of his birth is not precisely known. Tepelini, the place of his nativity, is a modern town, about 20 leagues north of Janina, situated on the left bank of the Aous,* in the midst of a gloomy valley, surrounded by wild and desert mountains. The insignificance of Tepelini, which scarcely contains two hundred habitations, would have condemned it to perpetual obscurity, were it not for the melancholy advantage of having been the birth-place of Ali Pacha. His family, distinguished by the surname of Hissas, was of the tribe of the Toskides, who call themselves ancient Musulmans. Ali gave it an Asiatic origin, asserting that it had passed into Epirus with the hordes of Bajazet. It was, however, generally considered as indigenious, and

* Or Voïoussa.

as descended from the Albanians, who had embraced Mahometanism at the period of the conquest. But, whatever be the fact, nothing but doubt and uncertainty exists respecting the circumstances to which the ancestors of Ali are indebted for their elevation and fortune. It appears that they embraced the lucrative profession of *kleftes*, a species of open and public robbery, under the cloak of which they invaded the territory of Tepelini. This was a kind of fief, originally subject to the Pacha of Berat, and which was afterwards transmitted to an ancestor of Ali, named Mouctar, a celebrated warrior, who perished at the siege of Corfu.

The character of Vely Bey, the father of Ali Pacha, is very doubtful; according to some he enriched himself by violence and pillage, while others esteem him as a man of a most exemplary character, and represent him as being very humane to the Greeks: it is even said, that it was through the interest of the inhabitants of the Fanar that he obtained the pachaship of Delvino, of which he was afterwards deprived by court intrigue. Upon becoming Aga of Tepelini, his native place, he married the daughter of the Bey of Conitza: this union insured him the alliance of the principal families of the country, especially that of Courd Pacha, Vizier of Berat. The consequences of his disputes with the Beys and Agas his neighbours, who, taking advantage of his

misfortunes, despoiled him of the greater part of his dominions, are known with greater certainty. Vely Bey, finding himself unable to resist the strong confederacy formed against him, died of grief, at the age of forty-five years, leaving the wrecks of his fortune to his widow Khamco, the mother and guardian of his son Ali, and of his daughter Chäinitza, who will be found to be intimately connected with the tragical events recorded in this history. Vely Bey left also another wife, a slave, who had borne him a third child. As yet too young to defend the small portion of his father's dominions which his enemies had not yet seized, Ali would have been entirely stripped of them, had not his mother assumed the reins of government. Till this moment, Khamco, the daughter of the Bey of Conitza, and the widow of Vely Bey, had only appeared a woman of ordinary mind; scarcely, however, were the eyes of her husband closed in death, when she displayed the greatest talents, accompanied by extraordinary strength of character; but these qualities were sullied by an implacability of soul, in which she too nearly resembled Olympias, the mother of Alexander, who, like herself, had been born in Epirus. Her sole aim being to secure the whole of her husband's inheritance to her son Ali, whom she tenderly loved, she at first directed all her energies to the re-establishment of the fortunes of her family.

Ali was then nearly fourteen years of age. His turbulent spirit and extreme vivacity of temper displayed themselves at an early period. In vain did his father endeavour to direct his attention to the studies essential to youth : escaping from the hands both of his father and his preceptors, and flying the paternal roof, he would wander among mountains covered with snow, or amidst forests of antediluvian growth. A petulance and irritability uncommon in young Turks, who are naturally sedate and composed, were striking traits in his character. It was only upon the demise of his father, that, centering all his affections in his beloved mother, he submitted himself to her will, learnt to read, appeared tractable, and adopted for his rule of conduct the counsels of Khamco. "To my mother," said he one day to the consul-general of France *, "I owe all; for my father on his death-bed left me but a mere *hole* and a few fields. My imagination, fired by the counsels of her who has twice given me existence, for she has made me a *man* and a *vizier*, revealed to me the secret of my destiny. From that moment I only considered Tepelini as the natal aerie from which I was to dart upon the prey already mine in idea. From that moment I thought but of power, treasures, and palaces — in fact, of all which time itself has realised and which it still

* M. Pouqueville, Voyage dans la Grèce.

promises ; for I have not yet attained the *acmé* of my hopes."

In fact, Khamco having destined Ali to be the restorer of his family, instilled into him principles which he was already but too well disposed to follow. " My son," would she say to him continually, " he who does not defend his inheritance deserves to be deprived of it. Recollect that the property of others only belongs to them by the right of the stronger : why then should it not be yours?"

At this period Albania was not yet subject to the authority of an absolute vizier. Each canton, and often each town, and even village, formed its own particular republic, divided into *phares*. In the midst of these anarchical associations, great feudatories counterbalanced the authority of the pachas sent by the Porte : they frequently united for the purpose of resisting the oppressions, and especially for preventing the permanency, of these governors, whose commissions were circumscribed to a lunar year ; and they very often succeeded in having them deposed. Scarcely, however, were the Albanians freed from the fears of oppression, than they turned their arms against each other, tribe against tribe, and family opposed to family. But this state of intestine war possessed the advantage of maintaining the warlike habits of a people which supplied the Ottoman Porte with its best soldiers.

Favoured by the progress of anarchy, the widow of Vely Bey, far from bending beneath the stroke of adversity, meditated the restoration of her family to all its former splendour, and rose superior to the weakness of her sex. Renouncing the soft delights of the harem, she seized the musquet, mounted a charger, and with an Amazonian spirit united the partisans of her family with those of her late husband's vassals who still retained their fidelity. To these she shewed the scion, on which she placed her every hope; and performing at once the duties of the general and the soldier, she tried in various skirmishes her strength against the enemies of her race. In the mean time she gave her son a complete military education, accustoming him to all the exercises essential to an Albanian warrior; and by inculcating habits of temperance and self-denial, she strengthened still more a constitution which was naturally vigorous. Ali did not disappoint his mother's expectations. When only fourteen years of age, he succeeded, with the assistance of some brigands, in driving off some goats. But he soon took a greater flight, and by making incursions into the lands belonging to the enemies of his family, he acquired considerable booty, which, in addition to the property amassed by his mother, enabled him in a short time to subsidize mercenaries for the purpose of engaging in more serious expeditions. Khamco animated his zeal;

and kept up his emulation, by relating to him the history and recounting the exploits of his ancestors. She was also careful to temper his impetuous temerity with the lessons of experience. In her numerous excursions she was accompanied by her son on horseback, to whom she pointed out in the distance the lands of which he had been despoiled, and the territories of the despoilers.

In the mean time, the tribes who were in the immediate vicinity of Tchormowo and Gardiki, alarmed at the warlike preparations and extraordinary influence of a woman, began to entertain serious apprehensions for their independence: they therefore prepared for combat, and anticipated Khamco by a declaration of war. Without being disconcerted, Ali's mother placed herself at the head of her troops, and successfully resisted the attacks of her confederated enemies. But her success was temporary: she was destined to undergo the most dreadful calamities. The inhabitants of Gardiki, a considerable town situated not far from Argyro-Castron, in the midst of the desert mountains of Liakuria, succeeded, in a nocturnal excursion, in carrying off from Tepelini, Khamco, and her daughter Chäinitza, who was then in all the "flower of youth and beauty's pride." Ali escaped them: according to some writers, he was absent upon an expedition, while others attribute his good fortune to his

being engaged at the celebration of a wedding. His mother and sister having been led in triumph to Gardiki, Khameo was accused of having poisoned her rival, and even of having assassinated her child, for the purpose of concentrating all the rights of inheritance in Ali: she was then imprisoned with her daughter in a dungeon, whence they were brought out daily to suffer the brutal embraces of the principal inhabitants: thus their lives seemed only spared to them that they might endure the extremity of suffering and of violence. The horror of their captivity excited the compassion of a Bey of the family of Dosti, who had been called upon in turn to contribute to their dishonour. This generous man, with the assistance of a few faithful servants, rescued them from their state of slavery and wretchedness, and brought them in safety to Tepelini. There they found Ali bursting with rage and indignation, engaged in uniting his forces for the purpose of flying to the rescue of his parent and his sister. The Gardikiotes, on perceiving the flight of their captives, pursued them with the utmost expedition; but failing in their object, returned home, and, upon entering the town, reduced to ashes the house of their deliverer.

In the opinion of the furious Ali, this stain on the honour of his family could only be effaced by blood. His thirst for vengeance was increased by all the influence of his mother and the un-

ceasing lamentations of his sister, who inherited all her parent's qualities. Khamco constantly conjured her son to taste no repose till he had exterminated the guilty race; while Chäinitza, in all her conversations with her brother concluded by declaring, that she should never die in peace till she had stuffed the cushions of her apartments with the hair of the Gardikiote women. It will be seen in the course of this history, that the vengeance of these female furies was not glutted till after a lapse of forty years; but, though late, it was terrible.

Restored to liberty, Khamco's sole occupation was in training the young Ali to be the avenger of her wrongs. As a principal means, she represented to him the indispensable necessity of conciliating the attachment of his tribe: in this he fully succeeded, by frequenting with the utmost assiduity the society of his faithful Albanians, listening to their complaints, becoming the arbiter of their disputes, by adopting their habits and flattering their prejudices. In his military excursions, with a musquet on his shoulder, he traversed on foot his mountainous country, and by this means acquired a perfect knowledge of the localities adapted either for defence or for attack. While he thus strengthened his body, he also invigorated his memory, which was naturally tenacious: facts, names, and even features, although seen but once, were indelibly imprinted

upon it. So great was his superiority in athletic exercises, that he was soon allowed to be the swiftest runner, the best marksman, and the most expert horseman of his time. In this manner, rejecting the theories of books, he acquired the knowledge of mankind and the art of government by daily and indefatigable practice. Weary of being always under his mother's controul, and burning with the desire of trying his forces against the enemies of his family, he at length succeeded in gaining Khamico's unwilling consent to try the fate of an expedition which he had planned against the town of Tchormowo. He was at first successful; but not being sufficiently provided either with troops or money, and being attacked and defeated in his turn, he betook himself to flight, and was one of the first to enter Tepelini. His mother, who imagined she saw all her hopes blasted, loaded him with reproaches, and thrusting a distaff into his hand, "Coward," said she, "go and spin with the women of the harem! it is a trade much more befitting thee than that of arms!"

Driven from his native town, closely pursued by his enemies, and deprived of every resource, Ali saw his finances reduced to sixty parats, and with these he had to pay the Albanians, who were the sharers in his misfortune. After wandering about the mountains, and concealing himself in the dwellings of several of his friends, he at length

found himself reduced to the necessity of selling his sabre to purchase bread. "One day having retired into the ruins of an old monastery," as he himself related to Colonel Vaudoncourt, "I was ruminating upon my desperate situation, thinking that no hopes were left of maintaining myself against the overwhelming power of my enemies; while thus engaged, I was mechanically raking up the ground with the point of my stick, when suddenly a low sound issued from something which resisted its action. I continued to rake up the earth, and discovered a chest full of gold, which had probably been hidden there during the troubles of civil war. With this treasure I raised two thousand men, and entered Tepelini in triumph."

Ali was twenty-four years of age when he became thus unexpectedly enriched. His long light hair, his large blue eyes, full of fire and sparkling with intelligence, his natural eloquence, and especially his late good fortune, gained him the heart and hand of the beautiful Eminéh, a young and accomplished girl, the daughter of Capelan Pacha of Delvino, who had converted the strong town of Argyro-Castron into the seat of a small independent tyranny.

Ali, having enlarged his connexions, resolved to recover the whole of his paternal property, by making a last effort against his enemies. He levied troops, and marched at the head of a nu-

merous body, elated with the hope of victory. He was this time accompanied by his young spouse and his mother; the latter thinking that she might be able to restrain his impetuosity, or at least direct him by her counsels and experience; but all was useless, Ali had still to endure the frowns of fortune. The Beys of Goritza, Tchormowo, Kaminitza, Gardiki, Argyro-Castron, and several other places, having formed a confederacy, brought forces into the field far superior in numbers to Ali's troops, who were almost all cut to pieces, a few only saving themselves in the mountains of Mertrika. At this crisis, when Ali appeared totally destitute of resources, he formed and executed one of those determinations which display something more than courage—a bold and decided character.

Whilst engaged in deliberating with his mother and sister, at the house of an adherent, round which the runaways had rallied, he was informed that a part of the hostile army was encamped farther down in the plain, and that the chiefs of Gardiki and of Argyro-Castron, the most inveterate of his enemies, had retired with their troops. Having instantly formed his plan, which he kept with the greatest secrecy, at midnight, alone and unattended, he proceeded to the camp of the confederates, and by sun-rise stood before those who had sworn his destruction. "My life, my fortune, are in your power," said he to them, in a

calm but intrepid tone; “the honour, nay the existence of my family, are now dependent upon your will. I have fought till my resources are exhausted, and now surrender at discretion. You must either complete my destruction, or else support me against the fury of my enemies. Do not deceive yourselves by supposing that Ali’s death can be of any advantage to you; my enemies are your’s; they are only anxious to destroy me, that they may the more easily succeed in their designs upon you. The chiefs of Gardiki and of Argyro-Castron, already too powerful for the liberty of their neighbours, will doubtless avail themselves of my fall to reduce the whole of the district under subjection. Fortified as well by nature as by art, and defended by my faithful Albanians, Tepelini would always form an invincible barrier to their ambitious projects. But once in their possession, who is it that could wrest from them the means, not only of attacking their neighbours, but also of defending themselves from every assault? Destroy me, then, if you will; but be assured, that my destruction will only be the prelude to your own.” When a child of misfortune voluntarily implores the protection of an Albanian chief, not only has he no cause for fear, but is, on the contrary, certain of obtaining an escort to ensure the safety of his person: a protection granted even to robbers and outlaws. The firmness of Ali, his air of sincerity and

candour, and especially the seeds of jealousy which he artfully scattered in the minds of the Beys, determined them in his favour, and they resolved not only to spare his life, but to espouse his quarrel.

In the mean time his mother, missing him at day-break, and being informed of his secret departure, had rushed from the place of her retreat: with frantic gestures, she ran among the mountains, tearing her hair, and making the rocks re-echo with her lamentations and cries for Ali, her dear Ali! and while thus abandoned to all the violence of maternal grief, met her son marching at the head of the troops which had espoused his cause, and by whose assistance he could now defy the most inveterate of his foes. Having thus disconcerted all their schemes, Ali obtained peace and tranquillity; and by this means was enabled to consolidate the fortunes of his family. From this decisive act may be dated the commencement of his celebrity and power.

At peace with all his neighbours, Ali judged the moment was now arrived in which he could make himself absolute master of Tepelini, his natal town. We shall here again employ his own words: "I felt," said he*, "the necessity of firmly establishing myself in the place of my birth. I had in it partizans devoted to my service, and formidable adversaries, whom it was

* Voyage dans la Grèce, already quoted, p. 276. and following.

necessary to exterminate *en masse*; but for this some crime was to be alleged against them. It was now that I conceived the plan which I ought to have adopted at the opening of my career. I was accustomed, after my hunting-parties, to take a *siesta* in a wood near the Beutchá; and by means of a trusty adherent, I caused it to be proposed to my enemies to dodge me thither, for the purpose of assassinating me. I myself sketched out the plan of this conspiracy against my life, and having arrived at the place of rendezvous before my intended assassins, I tied a goat, well secured by ropes, and muzzled, firmly upon the ground, and covered it with my riding cloak; then disguising myself, I regained the seraglio, while my substitute was dispatched by a volley of small arms. The conspirators, however, were not permitted to convince themselves of their success, for a picquet of my soldiers appeared at the very instant they heard the discharge. My pretended murderers entered Tepelini, vociferating, ‘Vely Bey is no more!—We are rid of him!’ These exclamations penetrated even into the harem, which resounded with the groans of my mother, and the exulting shouts of my enemies. I permitted the conspirators to enjoy their fancied triumph till they had become intoxicated with joy and wine, when, after having undeceived my mother, and asked her advice, I fell upon them sword in hand, the watchword of my party being

‘Mine is the cause of justice,’ and before morn not one was left alive; their property and habitations I distributed amongst my creatures, and from that moment I have been absolute in Tepelini.”

Having thus increased the number of his adherents, Ali resolved to follow the career which in Albania conducts to fortune, and often to the highest honours. He became a chief of freebooters, and in his quality of Kleftes, ravaged at first the mountainous districts of Zagori and Kolonia; extending afterwards his depredations into the different provinces of Epirus, Macedonia, and Thessaly, and escaping every danger by his superior address and local knowledge. Twice was he made prisoner; the first time by the troops of the Pacha of Berat, who generously granted him his liberty; and afterwards by those of the Pacha of Janina, who, urged by the Beys of the neighbouring districts, was for a considerable time undecided whether he should not put him to an ignominious death in the very capital which Ali was one day destined to rule over as sovereign. His good star prevailed. He solicited most earnestly to be allowed to march against the chiefs who had revolted against the Porte; his services were accepted; and such was the effect of his talents and experience, that the Sultan not only granted him a free pardon, but also gratified him with one of the chief military appointments.

Hitherto Ali had been nothing but an extraordinary individual, without title or public employments; he, however, still fixed his eye upon dignities, power, and riches, resolved to seize the first opportunity which should present itself of obtaining them: it was not long delayed.

Epirus, which enjoyed a species of anarchical liberty, was at this period governed by three Pachas, those of Janina, Paramithia, and Delvino; and the cantons and settlements of Chimera, Gardiki, Zoulati, Argyro-Castron, and Souli, were considered as enjoying freedom under their protection; Middle Albania was governed by Court Pacha of Berat, a powerful and dreaded Vizier, who could command the services of the most warlike of the Albanians. Selim-Bey-Coka, a descendant from one of the most powerful families of Zapouria, had received from the Porte the dignity of Pachaship with two tails, of Delvino, the chief city of Chaonia. This Sangiac adjoined the possessions of the Venetians on *terra-firma*, by means of the territory of Butrinto, the occupation of which had always been matter of dispute between the Turks and the Christians established upon that part of the Ionian Coast. Selim, abandoning the policy of his predecessors, was studious to encourage amicable relations with the commissaries of Corfu. But this conduct, far from being a subject for eulogium, rendered him obnoxious to a Divan naturally suspicious;

and Ali, who had access to Selim, was appointed to observe his conduct.

Anxious for his destruction, in the hope of obtaining his wealth, Ali, fertile in expedients, readily found an opportunity. Selim having just sold to the Venetians a forest, situated near the Lake Pelode, was immediately denounced by Ali as guilty of having alienated a portion of the territory belonging to the Porte. In concluding his dispatch Ali added, "that it was with the greatest pain he made known the malversation of Selim, his benefactor; but that it was solely the interest of the Sultan, his master, which had determined him to reveal a transaction which so materially affected both religion and the state." Without instituting any formal enquiry, the Divan dispatched to Ali a firman for Selim's death, and charged him with the execution of it.

Ali, upon his return to Delvino, was received by the old Pacha with his accustomed kindness, and was lodged in his seraglio. There, trampling upon the sacred laws of hospitality, and assisted by some ruffians in his pay, he secretly prepared for the cowardly assassination which was to ensure his future advancement. Every morning he waited upon his host, to pay him the customary compliments. One day, feigning indisposition, Ali requested Selim would come into his apartment, for the purpose of receiving an important communication. The invitation being accepted,

scarcely had the unfortunate old man entered the room, than the assassins, who had been concealed in a closet, upon a signal being given, rushed out, and stabbed him to the heart: he fell pierced with wounds, uttering almost the same words as Cæsar—" *Is it thou, my son, who deprivest me of life?*" At the noise of the tumult his guards hastened to the spot, and found Ali in the midst of the assassins, with the firman in his hand, exclaiming in threatening accents, " I have killed the traitor, by order of our glorious Sultan! here is his imperial mandate!" At these words, and at the sight of the order, the Turks bent low, and, with hearts transfixed with horror, remained motionless, while Selim's head was separated from his body bathed in blood and gore. Seals were then placed upon the palace by order of Ali, who immediately quitted it, taking with him as an hostage, Mustapha Bey, the son of the unfortunate Pacha.

The post of lieutenant of the new Derwend-Pacha of Romelia, was his recompense. Although an inferior appointment, and one which but little gratified his ambition; yet, as it was lucrative, he willingly accepted it.

Commissioned to clear the country of robbers and brigands, he made a trade of granting licenses, which he sold to the Kleftes for a stipulated sum, independent of his share of the booty. So great was the inconvenience arising from this

traffic, that travelling was no longer safe in many of the provinces. The Derwend-Pacha being recalled to Constantinople, answered with his head for the crimes of his lieutenant. Ali, more prudent, found means to disobey the summons with impunity: he sent as his proxy, a strong box well filled; the substitute was accepted, and thus the fruits of his crimes procured him absolution from them.

His military reputation was so high at this period, that in the war which broke out in the year 1787 between Turkey and the two imperial courts of Austria and Russia, he obtained an important command under the Grand Vizier Jouzouf. As a reward for his services during that campaign, the Porte conferred upon him the pachaship, with two tails, of Tricala in Thessaly, with the double title of Derwendgi Pacha, or Grand Superintendent of the roads throughout all Romelia. One of the duties attached to this office was to maintain a free and secure communication between Constantinople and Janina, by clearing the valley of Peneus of a considerable number of chieftains, who exercised there a much greater authority than the officers of the Sultan. Ali seized this opportunity of openly keeping a body of troops in his pay, which he gradually augmented to the number of nearly 4000 men: these were all well armed, and he soon shewed what might be expected from his vigilance and activity.

Attacking the brigands at the head of his troops, he routed, dispersed, and drove into the mountains the hordes which overran the plains. His severity made the inhabitants of Larissa tremble; and such was the terror of his name, since his recent appointments, that order and security reappeared, from the chain of Pindus to the passes of Thermopylæ. By thus clearing the country of those banditti, with whom he had himself been connected, he not only acquired the character of a skilful governor, but also the means of rendering himself formidable to the Porte—for the idea of absolute independence already dawned in his breast.

Ali was very careful to increase his reputation, and to justify the opinion of his talents, by making liberal presents to the officers of the Grand Seignior, and by shewing them the court-yards of his palace hung round with detruncated heads. Being now firmly fixed in his government, and finding his treasures increase, he formed the idea of bargaining for the pachaship of Janina, which, by placing him in the centre of Epirus, would give him the complete mastery over the Albanians.

In the interval a violent dropsy had attacked his mother Khamco, who, feeling the approach of death, dispatched courier after courier to her son, that she might have the consolation of seeing him in her last moments. Notwithstanding the ut-

most expedition, Ali arrived too late: his mother had been dead an hour, and he could only bedew her inanimate remains with the precious tears of the truest filial affection. Upon her will being read, which required him as well as his sister Chäinitza to exterminate the inhabitants of Tchormowo, by whom they had both been so brutally outraged, Ali, clasping the hands of his sister, swore over his mother's corpse, to pursue them with unremitting vengeance till he had utterly destroyed them.

Thus uniting ambition to the thirst for vengeance, he became still more anxious to obtain the pachaship of Janina. This city was almost wholly supplied with corn from Thessaly; and Tricala, of which Ali was then Pacha, commanded the commercial communications from Epirus to Constantinople, especially those between Janina and Thessaly. Since the conquest the inhabitants of Janina had preserved a partial liberty under the government of their Pachas, whose recall they effected at will. In 1716 they had for the first time been subjected to the *Caratch*, and to the authority of a Pacha with two tails: this first took place under the dependance of the Vizier of Tricala in Thessaly. Upon this ancient custom, Ali founded his pretensions. By the help of intrigue he had gained a strong party in Janina, which resembled rather a rendezvous for the factious, than a town subject

to the Grand Seignior; for the Beys having obtained considerable influence, had confined the Pachas in an old castle near the lake, and continually threatened them with being recalled, if they opposed their seditious practices. Ali had always agents in pay, who fomented these intrigues and dissensions. Calo-Pacha, who had governed Janina fifteen years, being just dead, not without suspicion of having been poisoned, a violent contest for the succession arose among the most powerful and ambitious of the Beys. Bloody quarrels took place between the rival chiefs; murders were committed in the open day; and the bazar itself became deserted.

Ali, judging this to be the favourable crisis, immediately levied troops, and after having passed the chain of the Pindus, entered the plain which is situated to the north of Janina. At his approach, the Beys, forgetting their own quarrels, united their forces, and near the upper end of the lake attacked the common enemy. They were beaten and forced to re-enter the town. Ali encamped under the walls with his victorious army. He then began to plunder the villages and possessions belonging to his enemies. Not being, however, sufficiently strong to risk an assault, he employed bribes and promises, and prevailed upon a great number of his adherents to dispatch a deputation to Constantinople, praying that he might be appointed to the vacant

pachaship. The Porte sent back his emissaries, with an order for Ali to disband his troops and return to his government. Being informed of this failure by one of the deputies who had outstripped his companions, Ali resolved to strike one of those political blows which almost infallibly succeed with a weak and corrupt government. After having well digested his plan, and completely gained over the deputies to his interests, he caused them to re-enter Janina. The Beys having been informed of the result of the deputation, advanced to the outskirts of the town, in order to receive the Imperial firman. After being taken from its crimson case, each carried it to his forehead, in token of submission to the orders of the Sultan. It was then read:—it nominated Ali to the pachaship of Janina, and ordered the immediate acknowledgment of his authority.

What a thunder-stroke for the Beys! Some suspected Ali of having forged the order, while others acknowledged its authenticity. The town was divided; but the majority, by a prompt submission, were anxious to conciliate the good opinion of a man so likely to become their Pacha. His adherents redoubled their intrigues, the Beys became dismayed, and in the midst of their deliberations, Ali entered the town amidst the acclamations of the people. No other resource was now left his enemies but flight, and, crossing the lake, they dispersed themselves

through the districts of Acarnania, Etolia, and Arta.

Ali's first care, after having thrown a strong garrison into the Castron, which secured him the possession of Janina, was to calm the fears of the people by assurances of protection, and to gain over the Beys who still remained in the town, by promises of honours and wealth. After having recompensed his friends, he conciliated éven his enemies, by an air of candour and affability. His party increased in numbers, and he now dispatched a second deputation to Constantinople, still more numerous and respectable than the first. They were the bearers of a second petition still more urgent, and of considerable presents for the chief members of the Divan. Ali soon saw his usurpation confirmed by legitimate authority: thus in the natural order of events, the despotism of a single individual is the general result of the disputes and intrigues of party. This change, which happened in the year 1788, was productive rather of satisfaction than of regret to the people of Janina, while at the same time it consummated the wishes of Ali, who by this consolidation of his political power, saw himself ranked amongst the grandees of the Ottoman empire.

Rich, powerful, and formidable, he was also blessed with two sons by his wife Emineh: Mouctar and Veli, though still young, were alike distinguished by their courage and their

noble and warlike figure. Ali's influence in many of the provinces was now unbounded. The Vizier of Berat, who had hitherto disdained his alliance, no longer refused his overtures. Ibrahim Pacha of Berat, or of the Middle Albania, and descended from an illustrious family, had married the daughter of Courd Pacha, one of the greatest nobleman of the Arnaut race. By this marriage he had some years before deprived young Ali of a lover, and destroyed his hopes of obtaining the pachaship of Berat. Ali, at that time only the Bey of Tepelini, had even been subjected on that occasion to humiliating and ill-founded taunts upon his extraction. Not only did he cherish the hope and desire of revenge, but it so happened that in this instance the policy of the new Pacha of Janina perfectly coincided with the passions of the man.

The Middle Albania, subject to the Pacha of Berat, was, from its richness and fertility, the most natural, the most necessary, and at the same time the most easy conquest for the Pacha of Lower Epirus. As chief of the Kleftes, and as Bey of Tepelini, he had successively formed numerous connexions in that country, the localities of which were perfectly known to him. In addition to the proximity and the riches of Middle Albania, the noble race of horses peculiar to it rendered its possession a most desirable object. But it was above all important to the Pacha of

Janina, to deprive the inferior Beys of the independent cantons of Epirus of the constant support which they were accustomed to find in the Pacha of Berat. To take possession of this Pachaship by force, and that under the eyes of the Porte, would have been a difficult and hazardous enterprise. Ali undertook to effect his project by indirect means, and at length succeeded with admirable ability and perseverance. Superior to Ibrahim both in power and renown, he first forced him to give his two daughters in marriage to his two sons, Mouctar and Veli; and then, under the pretext of marriage portions, stripped him of one district after another. Ibrahim's first concession was his consent to affiance two of his daughters to Ali's sons, and the third to his nephew.

Ali, having thus humbled the Beys, admitted Greeks into his councils, and deceived the people by flattering promises (for no man ever possessed in a greater degree the gift of a bland and insinuating eloquence), thought the time had now arrived for fulfilling the last will of his mother, and for glutting his appetite for vengeance. Tchormowo was the place against which he determined first to direct his arms; for at the base of its rocks he had suffered the humiliation of a defeat. Tchormowo was taken partly by stratagem and partly by force. Ali, thirsting for revenge, entered it at the head of his troops, and after having massacred the greater part of the inhabitants, and

sold the women and children as slaves, razed it to the ground. One of the nobles, named Prifti, to whose brutality his mother had been subjected, having fallen into his hands, he ordered him, after having his flesh torn with red-hot pincers, to be roasted to death by a slow fire. This barbarous execution he confided to his foster-brother, the son of a black slave.

So horrible an instance of vengeance spread terror and consternation throughout the surrounding districts, and many tribes submitted to him. Desirous of opening a free and safe communication between Janina and Tepelini, the place of his birth, Ali attacked and took the formidable post of Klissura, situated near the spot where the Aous enters a deep defilé. It was here that Philip* arrested the progress of the Roman legions, till, betrayed by a shepherd of Mount Charopus, who discovered the key of his position, he was obliged to evacuate Epirus. The occupation of Klissura was followed by the conquest of Ostanizza, Premeti, and Conitza, all chief towns of important districts; and Ali was thus made master of the whole course of the Aous, from its rise in Pindus as far as Tepelini.

Indulging ideas still more vast, Ali now commenced the execution of his grand plan, which consisted in establishing an independent power in

* Philip II. King of Macedon, and father of Perseus.

Epirus, a country which nature has herself defended by mountain barriers. But to insure success, it was indispensable for him to amass treasures, keep numerous agents in pay at the Ottoman court, raise suspicions in the Divan against the other Pachas his rivals, aggrandize himself at their expense, and make himself useful to any European state who could favour his views or recompense his services.

Whether Ibrahim Pacha had already penetrated the ambitious views of Ali, or whether he could no longer observe with indifference the gradual encroachments of the chief of Lower Epirus, who invaded the independent cantons of his Sangiac, he threatened to take up arms; and discord was again seen to break out between the houses of Berat and Ali, although their alliance had been strengthened by family ties. Ibrahim, not daring to attack Ali openly, arrested him in his projects by promoting the league of the Chamouri, and by fomenting an insurrection of the Souliotes.

This people was the only one in Epirus which maintained the reputation of ancient Greece, and preserved the independence of their ancestors. They inhabited a kind of fortress formed by nature, in the midst of the mountains of Cassiopeia, where the river Acheron precipitates itself into a gloomy dell, surrounded and overhung by woods and forests. The lofty rocks which bor-

der this mysterious vale are crowned with fortified towers, and the mountain-paths leading to them scarcely permit two men abreast.

The republic of Souli, which did not trace its origin beyond the seventeenth century, had been apparently formed from the remains of the Christian tribes of Taygete and Acroceraunia, who had retreated, sword in hand, from before the Mahometans. Their confederation, about the year 1660, was only composed of four large villages, situated on a fine concave plain, at an elevation of about 2000 feet above the level of the Acheron. Behind them a chain of immense mountains forms at once an ornament and defence to the whole valley. A narrow path, winding through a thick wood, leads after a two-hours march to a defile called Klissura, admirably adapted for arresting the progress of an enemy. This defile is commanded by a fort called Tichos, and near it is the first village of the Souliotes, named Avaricos. From thence a gradual rise leads to the site of the second tribe, called Simoniva. Kiapha, a name signifying a height, is the next village; and the last one is Souli, the capital, generally called Kako-Souli, situated about fourteen hours journey from Janina, and thirteen from Preveza on the Ionian Lake. Near the spot where the pathway quits the banks of the Acheron, to wind along the precipices which are between Kiapha and Kako-Souli,

is seen a rock of a conical form, which beetles over the road, and is called Kunghi. On the summit of this rock is Aghia Paraskevi, or *Holy Friday*, the principal fortress of the Souliotes. Such was the situation of this singular republic, the population of which having increased in the space of forty years, founded seven new villages in conquered countries, all of which participated in the rights of the community, and formed part of a general league called the *warlike confederation*. These exterior tribes materially contributed to the defence of the country, of which they were the advanced posts. As they were liable to be attacked or surprised by the Turks, who were never remarkable for the faithful observance of truces, these people, who were ranged around the mountains, on the first alarm transported their families and their booty into the interior of the republic—their natural fortress. This constituted the whole precautious system of the Souliotes. Each village, according to the established custom of the Albanians, was divided into Phares, having for magistrates their Gerontes, or old men. The Souliotes did not follow written laws: traditionary customs formed their only code. The public affairs were generally decided by the chief of the Phares, or, in difficult emergencies, by a council of chiefs selected from the four principal villages. These assemblies were held at Kako-Souli. Arms, plunder, and

the care of their flocks, were the exclusive occupations of the Souliotes. To have exercised a trade, devoted themselves to commerce, or guided a plough, would have been considered a degradation. At ten years of age, the boys, in whom hatred to the Turks was studiously instilled, entered the military profession. Such was the warlike spirit of these people, that, in times of danger, the women, sharing or rather exciting the general enthusiasm, fought hand to hand by the side of their husbands, their brothers, or their children. Their system of warfare, like that of their ancestors, was desultory; consisting rather in skirmishes than in pitched battles, in daring enterprises, sudden attack, or rapid retreats. From the great increase of its population, and its martial spirit, this Christian republic had already attracted the attention of its neighbours; maintaining many wars, as well against the Beys of Margariti and Paramithia, as against the Pachas of Arta and Janina. But from the impregnability of its situation, it had always been bravely defended by its citizens, and had even extended its boundaries beyond their ancient limits. On the breaking out of their first war with Ali Pacha, the Souliotes possessed sixty-six villages, which had all been conquered by the valour of their arms: their army amounted to fourteen hundred experienced soldiers, officered by captains or polemarques, whose command was

temporary. Notwithstanding their comparative inferiority to the forces of Ali, they were sufficient to defend passes till then deemed inaccessible.

Three thousand men whom Ali dispatched against them in the spring of 1790, finding them intrenched in their mountains, dared not to attack them. But they seized all the peasants, provisions, and cattle, belonging to all the villages of the plain, which the Souliotes had not had time to evacuate. Enraged at this, the mountaineers dispatched from their rocks a strong body of chosen troops, which, falling unexpectedly upon the Pacha's troops, routed them with great slaughter: thus they rescued from their hands those whom they were leading into captivity, recovered the spoil with which they were laden, and pursued the fugitives as far as the valley of Janina, burning every where the mosques and houses which lay in their route.

From the fate of this first expedition, Ali found that the Souliotes were not to be despised; and of this he was still more convinced in the spring of the following year. Quitting their mountains, the Souliotes ravaged Amphilochia, and were even daring enough to extend their excursions as far as the defiles of Pindus, where, unless accompanied by numerous escorts, attack was almost always certain.

Ali now found, that, to subjugate them effectually, it was necessary to deprive them of the

clandestine support of the Pacha of Berat. He represented to him that it was their common interest to annihilate a Christian confederation, which only served to destroy the followers of Mahomet, and diminish the power of the Porte. He at length succeeded in gaining over Ibrahim: and such is the hatred of every Musulmān against the Christians, that Ibrahim thought he was performing a meritorious action in abandoning the Souliotes to their own resources. The marriage of his youngest daughter with Veli Bey, Ali's second son, (who had been already affianced to her,) confirmed their reconciliation.

Disposed to endure what he could not prevent, Ibrahim had even the weakness to increase the forces of Ali, by sending him a corps of auxiliaries destined to attack the Souliotes. Elated with the hopes of a certain triumph, Ali commenced the preparations for this second expedition in the spring of 1792: he raised nearly 10,000 Albanians, including the troops from Threspotia, and the auxiliary corps of Ali Pacha. His plan was to surprise the Souliotes by lulling them into a false security. Pretending to have received certain injuries from the town of Argyro-Castron, and at the same time declaring his intention of avenging them, he affected to compliment the valour of the Souliotes by inviting them to form a part of his expedition. The letter written by

him to two of their most illustrious captains, was conceived in the following terms :

“ Friends Botzari and Tzavella,

“ I, Ali Pacha, greet you with all salutation, and kiss your foreheads. Knowing your great courage and zeal, and thinking that I stand in the utmost need of your assistance, I most earnestly intreat, that on the receipt of this letter, you will, without delay, assemble all your palikars, and join my standard, that I may march against my enemies. The moment is now arrived, in which you can essentially serve me, and give proofs of your friendship and affection. Your pay shall be double that of my Albanians, well knowing that your courage is superior to theirs. As I shall not take the field till your arrival, I intreat that you will march with the utmost expedition. This is all I have to communicate at present, and so farewell.”

Botzari and Tzavella instantly convoked an assembly of their fellow-citizens, before whom the Pacha's letter was read : but few of the Souliotes were the dupes of his artifice and duplicity. They returned for answer, that the warriors of Souli never quit their natal soil; but that, anxious to cultivate his good opinion and friendship, they would permit Tzavella and 70 palikars to march with him to victory.

This small troop having arrived, Ali, in order to prevent any suspicion of his projects, began to march in the direction of Argyro-Castron for about twenty miles : he then ordered the troops to halt and to encamp. Scarcely had the Souliotes laid aside their arms previously to engaging in military sports, such as leaping, racing, and wrestling, than they were surrounded by order of Ali, and loaded with chains. Two among them, who had still their arms, bravely defended themselves till they were killed ; a third, trusting to his agility, swam over the Kalamas amidst the fire of his enemies, gained the mountains, and arrived at Souli time enough to put his countrymen on their guard against the perfidy of the Pacha.

Using the utmost expedition, he himself appeared in their district the next day, followed by his whole army, but, finding the Souliotes on the alert, he deferred his attack, and again tried the effect of artful negotiation. By his order Tzavella was brought before him, to whom he promised the greatest rewards if he would prevail upon his countrymen to submit ; but at the same time threatened him with the horrible alternative of being flayed alive, should they persist in their resistance. “ Restore me then to liberty,” exclaimed Tzavella, “ for never will my countrymen submit, whilst they see me in these disgraceful chains ! ” — “ And shouldst thou not succeed in thy negotiation, what security shall I have

for thy return?" answered Ali. "Foto, my only son," rejoined Tzavella, "whose existence is a thousand times dearer to me than my own." Upon these conditions he was immediately set at liberty, and an equal number of Souliotes and Albanians effected the exchange of prisoners at the foot of a mountain. On his arrival at Souli, Tzavella convoked an assembly of all the chiefs, laid open to them the conduct and intentions of Ali, and exhorted them to prepare for a vigorous resistance, without a thought of him or his family. He then spun out the negotiations to as great a length as possible, the better to allow his countrymen to complete their means of defence. All being ready, he dispatched the following letter to the tyrant:

"Ali Pacha,

"I glory in having deceived the deceiver. I am prepared to defend my country against a robber. My son is devoted to destruction; but, ere I die, I will avenge his death with a dreadful vengeance. If we be conquerors (and God will bless our arms), I shall have other children, for my wife is still young. Come on then, traitor, if thou darest; for I thirst for vengeance, and am thy sworn and mortal foe."

Although furious at the failure of his stragem, Ali did not, however, execute his threats

upon Foto, but sent him prisoner to Janina. Having given the signal for attack, his troops marched towards the passes and defiles. The Souliotes at first retreated before an enemy so much superior to them in numbers; but halting at the first defile, they then opened their fire upon the Turks, and each shot carried death into their ranks. Ali, placed upon an opposite mountain, saw irresolution and disorder commencing among his troops: he immediately promised five hundred purses to him who should be the first to enter Kako-Souli. Animated by the presence and promises of their Pacha, the Albanians made a last and desperate effort: they forced the defile, and, raising the cry of victory, eagerly pursued the flying Souliotes, while Ali, watching the movements of his army by the assistance of a telescope, already conceived himself master of the country. Never had the Mahometans penetrated so far into the mountains. At the sight of their danger the Souliotes raised a cry, which resounded even in the remotest recesses of their mountains: this cry announced the public danger. Souli was lost, had it not been for a heroine, the celebrated Mosco, the wife of Tzavella. Nobly emulating her husband in the defence of her country, she called all the women to arms; and forcing the warriors, who were in full retreat, to turn about, she rallied, harangued, and animated them to fresh exertions. All inflamed by the

same generous passion, the love of their country, the Souliotes, both men and women, seemed now to have but one soul, and, as it were, one body: seizing by collective strength immense blocks of stone and huge masses of rock, they rolled them down with hideous crash on the heads of their invaders: the Turkish column was broken to its very centre. In the mean time, the retreat of those who had dared to climb and pass over those high mountains, was cut off by a sortie of the garrison of Tichos. Thus without the least hope of refuge, they fell either by the fire of musquetry, or perished by a volley of stones. The victorious Souliotes threw the bodies of the Turks by hundreds into the Acheron, after having first decapitated them. They then rushed upon the troops which still remained with the Pacha, and who, terrified by this reverse of fortune, abandoned the field of battle. Ali himself was compelled to fly, leaving the whole of his baggage and ammunition; and so hot was the pursuit, that he destroyed two horses before he reached Janina. He could only rally a thousand men, and with these he entered the town during the night. To conceal his defeat, he had preceded his arrival by a proclamation, forbidding the inhabitants either to stand at the windows, or to appear in the streets. For several days he remained immured in his palace, and would permit no one to approach him but his most trusty confidants.

His loss in the fatal action of the 20th July was enormous: his rear guard alone left 740 dead on the field. The Souliotes erected a trophy with their heads. Ali's whole loss amounted, in killed and wounded, to about five thousand men. About three thousand who had dispersed themselves in the mountains and woods, did not arrive at Janina till several weeks after their defeat.

Renouncing for the present his hope of conquering their country, Ali entered into fresh negotiations with their chiefs, and offered them a truce. It was a glorious one for the Souliotes: they retained possession of all the territory they had conquered as far as Dervitziana. The Pacha also released those whom he had made prisoners by treachery, and paid a considerable sum by way of ransom for those of his own soldiers who had been made captives. Having thus been disappointed in all his efforts against the Souliotes, Ali armed himself with patience—a quality which he possessed in an admirable degree. He entered into alliances with the neighbouring Beys, and occupied himself in clearing the country of the numerous brigands which infested it. He was above all anxious to enrich his treasury, for he considered money not only as the very nerve of war, but as the lever by which he was to acquire the power to which he aspired: the Albanians were therefore overwhelmed with taxes, and saw the circulating medium gradually disappear

These inconveniences were in some degree counterbalanced by the security of the roads and the protection granted to commerce. One of the characteristic traits of Ali's policy was religious toleration: he had not as yet developed that extreme severity of disposition, of which he afterwards gave so many proofs by acts of cool and refined cruelty. About this period he also commenced fortifying and embellishing Janina, which, situated upon the borders of a beautiful lake, extends along the declivities and base of the hills which bound it on the west. Upon approaching it by the Arta road, it is seen at about the distance of a league; and the view of its palaces and mosques, with its peninsula boldly shooting into the lake, is truly enchanting. An old castle, a recently erected seraglio, fourteen mosques, seven churches, an hospital, and a college, were the public edifices of the capital of modern Epirus, the residence of Ali Pacha. Its population, amounting to more than forty thousand souls, was a mixture of Jews, Turks, Albanians, Greeks, and Armenians. Next to Constantinople and Salonica, it was the most considerable city in European Turkey both for riches and political importance; and, being the centre of Ali's military power, it was also the place of residence for the officers of his household. There, too, he assembled his Divan, or council.

Careful to observe every political event, Ali,

for the purposes of aggrandisement, availed himself of the revolt of Cara-Mustapha, vizier of Scodra or Scutari, against whom he received orders to march. Cara-Mustapha having been declared *fermantli*, or placed under the ban of the empire, Ali, with the neighbouring Pachas, hastened to combat the outlaw. He had the address to undertake the only attack that could be successful, and having first seized the strong position of Geortcha, he took Ochrida by storm, and put its inhabitants to the sword. Once in possession of Ochrida, he gained over to his party the neighbouring Beys, the masters of western Macedonia, who were naturally jealous of the authority of the Porte. The province of Ochrida, which is situated in the mountains between Macedonia and Middle Albania, includes within itself all the defiles which lead to the pachaship of Berat on the road from Constantinople. Thus by his skilful and judicious combinations, Ali had not only very nearly cut off the communication between Constantinople and Higher Albania, but also by flanking the possessions of Ibrahim Pacha of Berat, on the north, he could in future harrass him on every side, except by sea. Ali, by gaining the strong post of Geortcha, had also acquired an admirable military position, which covered a great part of his dominions on the north, while on the east it was the key to the entire range of Pindus, which separates Epirus from Thessaly.

Constantly keeping the same object in view, Ali thus intrenched and fortified himself without awakening in the least degree the jealousy of the Souliotes. Instead of seizing the opportunity of attacking Janina, the defence of which, during Ali's absence in Higher Albania, had been entrusted to his sons Mouctar and Vely, two inexperienced young men, they had confined their military exploits to making incursions and committing ravages which dishonoured and disgraced their cause. On their side, the Beys, being almost constantly at war among themselves, reciprocally weakened each other. Such was the then anarchical state of Epirus, that the people in general wished for, and favoured as much as possible, the successive encroachments of their Pacha, preferring the tyranny of one to that of the many.

To the war against Cara-Mustapha, the advantages of which had been wholly reaped by Ali, whom the Porte, unable to refuse, had invested with the honours of the fallen vizier, succeeded the revolt of Passevan Oglou, who soon after raised the standard of rebellion upon the ramparts of Vidin: the Ottoman empire seemed fast approaching to destruction under the feeble and pacific reign of Selim. The spirit of revolt had successively actuated all the Pachas. More cautious, Ali had as yet only thought of fortifying and aggrandising himself, when an unexpected

event aroused his whole attention, and with it that of Epirus in general. The treaty of Campo-Formio in 1797 between France and Austria, had been the consequence of the revolutionary war and the conquest of Italy by Bonaparte. By virtue of that treaty the French Directory, after having bartered away the independence of the Venetian republic, and degraded from its rank among the nations a people so renowned both for their antiquity and wisdom, seized the Ionian Isles, together with their dependencies upon the Continent, viz. Preveza, Vonitza, Parga, and Butrinto. This intelligence soon reached the court of Ali Pacha: that artful politician perceived, that instead of having for his neighbours a government, which, unconscious of its own decrepitude, had grown old in the midst of Europe, a colossal power would soon be established near him which had crected itself into a military republic, as turbulent as it was ambitious. On the 5th July, 1797, General Gentili, acting in the name of the French Republic, planted the tri-coloured standard on the fortress of Corfu, which was fortified with five hundred and ten pieces of cannon. The arrival of the French created a strong sensation in the islands of the Ionian seas, and their proximity to the Pacha of Janina was productive of much uneasiness to him. It was of the utmost importance to Ali that the French should not adopt the same system of politics

towards Epirus as had been followed by the Venetian republic. The Venetians settled at Corfu and on its opposite banks, having remarked the tendency to anarchy which prevailed amongst the Albanian noblesse, had organised a league, composed of the Beys along the coast and of all the independent tribes, who, although divided by their individual interests, never failed to unite against the encroachments of the Pachas. Thus, even in latter times, the Venetians covered their *terra-firma* possessions from Butrinto to Preveza, by the confederation of the Chimera, of Conispolis, and Philates, which latter held in check the Pacha of Delvino, their nearest neighbour. On the other hand, by means of the Beys of Margariti and Paramithia, they arrested the enterprises of the Pacha of Janina, without even striking a blow; while, to keep down the Mahometan Beys, they made use of the Christian tribes of Souli and Acroceraunia: by these means they had therefore obtained a great preponderance in the affairs of Albania. In addition to which, about the year 1788, the Republic of Venice had obtained a firman which forbade the Pacha of Epirus to erect any battery within the distance of an Italian mile from the sea, so that he could not even fortify his custom-house, situated at Salamona, at the extremity of the Gulf of Ambracia. While Venice retained its power, these dispositions were rigidly enforced.

It might readily be conceived what advantage the French would derive from following the same line of policy. Ali Pacha easily convinced the Ottoman Porte, that the advantages which were harmless in the hands of a pacific power, would be fatal to the Turkish interests if granted to an ambitious and subjugating one. His fears were, however, soon quieted by the representations and conduct of the French. General Gentili, by order of Bonaparte, who was then commander-in-chief of the army of Italy, dispatched the Adjutant-General Roza to Janina, for the purpose of sounding Ali, and, if possible, gaining him over to the French interests. Ali loaded with honours and presents Bonaparte's emissary, who came to *fraternize* with the Pacha of Epirus. He gave him the *fraternal hug*, and received from his hands the tri-coloured cockade. Whenever he came to court he received him with the honours due to the Pachas, and openly called him his friend. Having admitted him to the greatest intimacy, he gave him a young Greek in marriage, named Zoitza, and was himself present at the nuptials. The credulity and vanity of the French emissary were so great, that he at length persuaded himself that he was destined to be a most important personage under the auspices of Ali. Taking advantage of his inexperience, the crafty Arnaute easily persuaded Bonaparte's envoy, that he was, and ever would be, the best and most

faithful ally of the French Republic. Upon this footing he treated with the government of the Ionian Isles, and complaining of the hostile conduct of the Venetians, who had never ceased affording indirect assistance to his enemies, or rather those of the Porte, he expressly required that they should abandon so disingenuous a line of policy. The Governor did not fail to depart from the prudent maxims of the Venetians, and even appeared disposed to make still farther concessions to the Pacha, provided he would only assist in supplying Corfu with provisions, stores, &c. Drovers of oxen were immediately seen proceeding towards the coast.

Ali perceived all the advantages which might be derived from his new political relations, and consequently directed all his efforts to forward the interests of his government, and especially of his own Pachaship. The Porte had bestowed upon him the Vaivodilick of Arta, by which he became possessed of the ports in the celebrated gulf called by the ancients the Sinus Ambracius. Anxious to extend his dominions on this side, he looked with an evil eye at the two independent tribes of Nivitza Bouba and Saint Basil, situated in the maritime chain of the Ceraunian mountains; and who had remained free under the protection of the Vizier of Berat, upon payment of a small tribute. On the continental side his schemes of ambition were opposed by the Tziamides; while

Mustapha the son of Selim, Pacha of Delvino, whom the Grand Seignior had confirmed in the possessions and office of his father, cut him off from the most direct road to Acroceraunia. His only resource, therefore, was in fitting out a fleet: this, however, he could not do without first cajoling the French; and in this he succeeded by buoying up the lofty opinions of their rulers, and flattering their vanity and enthusiasm by warmly embracing those young republicans, who were in their turn charmed by the insinuating manners of the despot of Epirus, by whom they were amply entertained with brilliant fêtes, and gratified with Grecian women.

Suspecting Bonaparte's designs upon the tottering power of the Crescent, the crafty Pacha, commenced by intriguing with that victorious general. He dispatched to his head-quarters in the north of Italy a confidential agent, certain of finding him already favourably disposed towards him through the representations of the Adjutant-general Roza. The letter which he addressed to him was filled with expressions of admiration, and wrought so effectually upon Bonaparte's vanity, that he caused it to be inserted in almost every journal. He immediately entered into negotiation with Ali, and flattered himself that he should find him a powerful instrument in the prosecution of his schemes of self-aggrandize-

ment. Perfectly upon a par in the arts of duplicity and cunning, from that moment the only aim of these two men was mutual deception; the one endeavouring to make the other subservient to his views. Ali, desirous of deriving some immediate advantage from this alliance, requested permission for his fleet to sail into the canal of Corfu, in contempt of preceding treaties.

There was no want of protestations on his part. In one of his journeys toward the Sinus Ambracius, he assured the French commandant of Preveza, that he was the staunchest disciple of the *Jacobin religion*, and protested that he was most anxious to be initiated into the worship of the *Carmagnole*, actually mistaking Jacobinism and its excesses for a new religion. To so dignified a proselyte to Jacobinism as a Pacha, it was impossible to refuse any thing. Permission was therefore granted him to prepare his expedition secretly at the farther end of the gulf, and setting sail during the holy week of the year 1798, he arrived, after sun-rise on Easter-eve, in a small bay near Loucovo, where he effected his disembarkation. Instantly beginning his march, he surprised the two tribes of Nivitza and Vasili, while they were at their devotions on Easter Sunday, and put them all to the sword. The terror inspired by this massacre produced the voluntary submission of the villages along the coast as far as Port Panorme, where he imme-

diately erected a fort. This he also did at the monastery of Saint Basil, after having put to death all its inmates.

Being thus firmly established upon the sea-coast opposite to Corfu, in the midst of the richest and most formidable of the independent Albanian tribes, he was at length enabled to avail himself of every advantage which fortune might present.

To the French he explained away these encroachments by attributing them to his desire of placing himself in more immediate contact with his new allies, in case of a co-operation being deemed expedient. To the Divan and the Turks in general, his expedition was very agreeable, as the Christians alone were sufferers. His agents at Constantinople did not fail to make a merit of it, by representing him to have acted solely for the interest of the Porte, by forcing the infidels to submit to its yoke. Ali confirmed these representations by paying tribute to the Sultan for each province he had conquered, and by declaring that he only kept possession of it in the name of the Grand Seignior.

Ali completely established himself in the good opinion of the Divan and of his Sovereign, by proposing to march at the head of the contingent of Albanian troops which were to join the Grand Vizier in his campaign against the rebel Passevan Oglou. The recent reputation for

ability which he had acquired in his detestable expedition against the Christians, whom he had surprised and massacred, had procured him the surname of *Aslan*, or the Lion, by which appellation he was styled in the military firmans addressed to him by the Divan, on the subject of his marching against the rebel Vizier of Vidin.

Confiding the care of his government to his son Mouctar, Ali, preceded by his renown, began his march, at the head of eight thousand chosen men. Not less than forty Pachas of Europe and Asia Minor, under the command of Hassein, the captain-pacha and grand vizier, were assembled before Vidin for the purpose of subduing Pas-sevan Oglou. In this campaign Ali maintained his former reputation for valour and ability. Having himself witnessed the defeat of the captain-pacha, and the death of Alo Pacha, who perished by the treachery of the grand admiral, he owed his own safety to the wise precaution of always remaining in the midst of his Albanians, and of never accepting the invitation of the Vizier. One day Hassein, under pretence of conferring upon him some mark of the public approbation of his conduct, required his presence at the sitting of a Divan. Ali, who was mistrustful of a flattering but perfidious Court, repaired thither notwithstanding, but he was followed by six thousand Albanians, who surrounded the Grand Vizier's tent. In virtue of this

formidable array, his reception was very flattering, but the conference was soon concluded. The allied Pachas, while before Vidin, were informed of Bonaparte's disembarkation in Egypt, and Ali foreseeing that war would shortly break out between France and Turkey, easily obtained the Grand Vizier's permission to return to Janina. He arrived there with the utmost expedition, and immediately commenced his observations upon passing events, for the purpose of turning them to his own advantage.

On his arrival at his Pachaship, instead of taking alarm, he appeared more favourable than ever to the French; and wrote himself, without loss of time, to the government of Corfu, protesting that he considered present circumstances as the most fortunate that could happen, since they afforded him an opportunity of proving more than ever his attachment to France, whose faithful ally he was determined to remain: he added, that they must not be surprised if he recalled his troops from Vidin and raised fresh ones, his only intention being to preserve an armed neutrality with respect to his own government. The French General, deceived by these assurances, which were still more strengthened by the representations of the Pacha's agents, was not in the least aware of the consequences of Ali's armaments, who was already preparing for a war which had been provoked by the most unjust aggression.

It was in vain that Bonaparte, after having invaded Egypt, dispatched an advice-boat to France, with orders to touch at the Ionian Isles, for the purpose of giving the alarm to the Generals commanding at Corfu. To the last they were in the dark as to the intentions of Ali Pacha, who, always attentive to profit by circumstances, foresaw that the Ionian Isles might one day change masters.

Ali received early intelligence from his agents at the Ottoman Porte, that a declaration of war against France was impending: that a considerable force both of Turks and Russians was preparing to wrest the Seven Isles from a power which had manifested its intention of converting them into a central position, from whence it might attack European Turkey. Ali immediately resolved to obtain possession of them by stratagem. He offered his alliance to the French Generals, upon condition that they gave up to him Saint Maure and the military positions on the Continent, and admitted a part of his troops into the fortress of Corfu, for the purpose of assisting in its defence. This negotiation, however, did not succeed, either from its appearing to be merely an artifice on the part of Ali, or from its proposals being contrary to the instructions given by the French government to the Generals commanding in the Ionian Archipelago.

Notwithstanding the utmost exertions of Ge-

neral Chabot, who had succeeded General Gentili in the government of Corfu, his division was but ill provided for defence: this was to be attributed to the want of quick and frequent communications with the Army of Italy. Since the expedition to Egypt, almost all the French ships of war had quitted the Adriatic, and the land forces had been reduced to three thousand six hundred men. Unable any longer to blind himself to his critical situation, General Chabot determined to undertake a military progress throughout the isles and the continental districts of his division. He set off on the 13th Sept. 1798, accompanied by General Verrières, commandant of the artillery, and several other staff officers.

On the other hand, Ali Pacha, decided as to his political conduct, and affecting a great zeal for the interests of the Crescent, despatched courier after courier to Constantinople, to represent to the Divan, that as the maritime towns formerly belonging to the Venetians commanded the most important line of coast, they necessarily cut off Epirus from all communication with the sea, and deprived it of every means of exterior military defence. He added, that till this line of coast were in his power, he should neither have freedom of commerce nor security from attack. Having thus inspired the Divan with the resolution of seizing the Ex-Venetian towns upon the continent, he offered to act in concert with the allies,

by undertaking himself the reduction of these towns, at present in the power of the French. His offers having been accepted, he received full discretionary powers, and immediately commenced operations against Preveza.

General Chabot had already resolved to secure this point from all attack, and having reconnoitred near Nicopolis a position which would allow of being strongly fortified, he ordered a line of intrenched posts to be constructed, terminated by two strong redoubts, capable of keeping up a cross fire.

Ali, having learnt from his spies that three hundred Frenchmen, and from five to six hundred Prevezans, were incessantly working at the intrenched camp at Nicopolis, ordered his lieutenants, about the close of September, to assemble the Turkish and Albanian troops for an expedition against the French. His orders were executed so promptly, that early in October a considerable number of Turco-Albanians made their cantonments in the villages near the fort of Butrinto and sent out patrols in advance. That no doubts might remain of his fidelity towards the Ottoman Porte, Ali commenced his hostilities against the French by an act of perfidy.

He wrote to the Adjutant-General Roza, who commanded at Cerfu during the absence of General Chabot, inviting him to a conference in the village of Philates, situated in Lower Albania.

This officer, on whom Ali had lavished innumerable marks of friendship and esteem, was perfectly persuaded of the sincerity and honour of the Pacha's soul, and therefore met him without the least hesitation or mistrust. Ali received him with the utmost kindness, invited him to dinner, and during the repast artfully succeeded in drawing out of him much information respecting the military situation of Corfu. The dinner ended, he ordered the French general to be seized, tied upon a horse, and conducted to Janina, where he was thrown into a loathsome and infectious dungeon, as a spy sent from Corfu to excite a revolution in Epirus. Before the knowledge of this base act had transpired, Ali made use of the same stratagem towards the commandant of the fort of Butrinto; but this officer declined going in person, and sent as his substitute a sub-lieutenant named Steil, accompanied by the Greek chaplain belonging to the fort: both of whom suffered the same fate as Roza. Instantly throwing off the mask, Ali followed up this double perfidy by an attack upon the fort of Butrinto, which was almost entirely invested by a corps of Albanians. General Chabot hastened to its assistance with a reinforcement. Whilst engaged in reconnoitring, he was suddenly surrounded by Ali's cavalry, and was on the point of committing suicide rather than fall into the hands of such enemies, when he was fortunately delivered by

some of his own grenadiers. "General," said one of them to him, "I have just seen the head of one of my wounded comrades severed from his body;" and such indeed was the ferocious custom of the Albanian troops. The French had just time to re-enter the fort, after having lost fifty men and two officers. The generals having passed over to Corfu, the council of war decided that they should evacuate and destroy the fort of Butrinto, which was immediately done; but they thought it expedient to defend Preveza, as if an isolated promontory could be of the least importance. Already the most wealthy inhabitants, terrified by the threats of Ali, had fled to Corfu and Saint Maure, carrying with them their most precious effects. Entrusted with the defence of Preveza, General Lasalcette arrived at Nicopolis, resumed the labours of the camp, and armed the Greeks. They appeared animated with the greatest courage, having every thing to lose if Ali were victorious. The offer also of the Souliotes, who had volunteered to march under the French standard, was accepted. Arms and ammunition were furnished them with the utmost expedition. Impelled by the two-fold desire of vengeance and of liberty, and supported by the conquerors of Italy, what could not the Greeks achieve? Such was the fond idea of the French generals.

Ali was now anxious to attack the French be-

fore they could be defended by their new fortifications. A single redoubt only, with part of the intrenchments, had been raised, when, on the 22d October, Ali was discovered advancing at the head of four thousand infantry and two or three thousand cavalry. He was accompanied by his son Mouctar, who had the reputation of surpassing even his father in cruelty. Gen. Lasalcette, the number of whose troops did not exceed seven hundred men, of whom four hundred only were French, immediately posted his troops behind the line of their yet unfinished intrenchments. About midnight, Ali's advanced guard, composed of five hundred chosen Albanians, marched to the attack of the redoubt, but were repulsed with loss, and driven back as far as the ancient theatre of Nicopolis.

The Souliotes, however, did not make their appearance, and a fatal irresolution was apparent throughout the ranks of the Greek auxiliaries. The emissaries of Ali had found means to introduce themselves at Preveza, and to sow the seeds of terror, discord, and disaffection, amongst the troops. At day-break, his whole army descended from the heights opposite the camp, brandishing their arms and shouting their savage war-cries. Ali was now about to give battle on the same spot where the conqueror of Antony had been posted after the battle of Actium. On the first shot being fired he ascended the tower

of Micalitcheli, whence, like Augustus, he saw the action commence which was to decide his political existence. His army, traversing the valley in despite of volleys of grape and musquetry, rushed upon the French line with an impetuosity equalled only by the courage with which they were received by the Gallo-Greeks: these latter were formed into two ranks, supported by several pieces of cannon, the fire from which strewed the earth every instant with the bodies of their enemies. Dismayed for a moment, the Albanians gave way; but this first impression of terror was soon succeeded by a blind fury excited by the animating words of Mouctar, and the conviction that their every movement was observed by the eagle eye of the Pacha. Returning with tenfold fury to the charge, they again rushed upon the centre of the line: all was now lost through the cowardice of some of the Prevezan officers, who, taking to flight, were followed by the soldiers whom they commanded. Observing the disorder in his centre, the French General endeavoured to close in his wings, but it was too late. Mouctar, at the head of his cavalry and supported by the Turkish infantry, rushed into the open space, and both wings of the French army were surrounded at one and the same time. All hope of safety was now abandoned:—but how many prodigies of valour signalized the dying moments of this

handful of heroes! Gabory, Richemont, your noble bearing in this unequal contest has insured you the immortality of history! Many of the French soldiers in isolated groups opposed the overwhelming masses of Turks, amongst whom they made a dreadful carnage ere they resigned their gallant breath. General Lasalle, having rallied five and twenty men of different ranks and corps, had just succeeded in entering a redoubt; finding it, however, on the point of being carried by assault, he hoisted a white handkerchief at the end of his sabre. At this signal the Turks entered the fort, and he surrendered to one of Ali's lieutenants. The rest followed his example, with the exception of one sub-lieutenant and two grenadiers, who preferred dying sword in hand—they were immediately cut to pieces. Like Octavius, Ali had only descended from his place of safety to assist in massacring the wounded and pillaging the vanquished. Volumes of smoke and flame already announced that the inhabitants of Preveza were expiating the shameful desertion of their countrymen. In vain they deprecated the fury of the conqueror: their females violated or saving themselves in boats, their houses falling in the midst of a vast conflagration, were melancholy presages of the fate reserved for them. Ali in the mean time, on horseback and at the head of his body guards, was riding in all directions to put an end to the carnage, and save the few

Frenchmen whom death had already spared; but the coming night could alone stop the effusion of blood. The Turco-Albanians had already raised upon the field of battle a horrible trophy of their victory, by piling up the heads of the slain. The next day the sun rose upon a scene of barbarity still more cruel and ferocious. Ali thirsted for fresh blood with which to celebrate his victory; and, like the Angel of Death, hovered over the smoking ruins of Preveza. Seated in the balcony of the custom-house, which the fire had spared, he ordered the one hundred and sixty Greeks who had been taken in arms and had implored a capitulation, to be brought before him. They were successively dragged out by the hair, one by one, from the hold of a vessel, into which they had been forced the night before. In vain did they raise their suppliant hands; Ali only answered their cries for mercy by giving the signal at which the still imploring lips were made to bite the dust.

At the fall of each unfortunate victim the bystanders raised a shout of exultation, and immediately stripped the body! Towards the close of this bloody tragedy, the arm of the executioner, a negro, became nerveless, his knees shook, and whether from fatigue or suffocation produced by the overpowering effluvia of human blood, he fell upon the bodies of his still reeking

victims, and expired in presence of Ali, of whose cruelty he had been the active and ferocious instrument.

But the misfortunes of Nicopolis and Preveza were not yet terminated. About a hundred French prisoners, conducted towards a hideous and appalling mass of what appeared to be a mixture of blood and hair, at length recognized the heads of their late unfortunate countrymen. Clubs and sabres were then employed to force them to the loathsome task of stripping them of the skin, which they were afterwards compelled to salt, and convey to Janina. It is impossible to describe the indignities and horrid cruelties these poor wretches were condemned to suffer on their journey to, and arrival in Albania. From thence they were marched to Constantinople, through the northern part of Greece, amidst the inclemency of one of the severest winters ever remembered: many of these wretches perished with cold, hunger, and fatigue. No sooner did an unfortunate shew symptoms of weariness, than one of his savage conductors struck him to the earth, severed his head from his body, and gave it to his companions to carry. On their arrival at Constantinople both officers and men were immured in the prison appropriated to the slaves. Three only, General Lasalcette, Adjutant-General Roza, and the Brigadier Hotte, were imprisoned in the Seven Towers.

Exploits so terrific acquired Ali an astonishing celebrity, and the Ottoman Porte, by way of recompense, raised him to the high dignity of a Pacha with three tails. His power kept pace with his reputation. The Albanians, whose courage had been considerably increased by their recent successes, were in military occupation of Butrinto, Preveza, Vonitza, and all the coast, whence they could overawe the Gulf of Ambracia and the southern portion of the Souli Mountains. Ali Pacha was therefore now enabled to observe the movements of the Souliotes, as well as of the inhabitants of Parga, who had so often afforded protection to his enemies. Such was his European celebrity, that Lord Nelson, when in the Ægean Sea, dispatched one of his officers to compliment him upon his victory at Preveza, and to assure him how desirous he had been of landing upon the coasts of Nicopolis, and of embracing the *Hero of Epirus*.

Elated with success, complimented by Nelson, and loaded with honours by his own government, Ali Pacha was invited by the allies to assist at the siege of Corfu, already commenced by the combined squadrons of Russia and the Porte. The former, seconded by the islanders, had just made themselves masters of some fortified positions. Although the season was far advanced, the strait which separates Corfu from the adjacent coasts of Epirus, still retained all the charms of a rich

and varied scenery. Innumerable vessels, some with spreading canvass rapidly cutting the waves to reconnoitre a sail in the distant horizon, others boldly solicitous to provoke the fire of the French artillery, imparted unusual animation to the scene. The difference of construction, the diversity in the rigging, masts, and colours of the various vessels, from a frigate down to one of the small sea-boats, continually plying between the fleet and the shore, the gay pendants, among which the imperial crescent glittered on a scarlet ground, all contributed to impart fresh interest to those seas which had already witnessed so many and such glorious battles. The mistrust, however, existing between two nations whom a forced policy had momentarily united, was very perceptible, might we be allowed to judge from the apparent discrepancies in their reports, and even want of uniformity in their signals. There were also other indications sufficiently strong to remove all doubt; for if the Russians affected to treat the Turks with contempt, the latter did not conceal the inveterate hatred, and consequent antipathy for allies, whom they would much more readily have regarded as mortal foes.

Among these discordant allies, Ali Pacha found he had enemies, who were studious to counteract his plans in the Ionian Archipelago. Whilst their fleet, which was as remarkable for its dilatory motions as that of Ali for its celerity, was slowly

effecting its operations in the latitudes of Zante and Cerigo, the Pacha suddenly appeared at the head of his army upon the coast of Playa, opposite the isle and city of Saint Maure, which he instantly summoned to surrender, under pain of sharing the same fate as Preveza. Terror operated to produce dissension among the islanders, some of whom seemed disposed to rise upon the French garrison, and to declare for Ali. At this juncture, a Greek, named Vlosopulo, a captain in the Russian service, having accidentally learnt the danger to which Saint Maure was exposed, sailed in that direction. Having first met with Ali's flotilla, which had captured fifty small vessels filled with unfortunate Prevezans, he instantly ascended the commander's vessel in his Russian uniform, and by means of an interpreter ordered him, upon pain of the Russian admiral's displeasure, to set the Prevezans at liberty, with their boats, and all that belonged to them. Taken by surprise, the Albanian captain obeyed, and Vlosopulo, after having escorted the fugitives to a place of safety, lost not a moment in sailing towards Saint Maure, where he arrived time enough to put a stop to Ali's plans, at the very instant his agents had been tampering with the inhabitants for the unconditional surrender of the island.

Equally offended with the Russians and the Greeks, Ali now turned his thoughts towards Parga. He had written a letter to the Primates

of that city, immediately after the capture of Preveza, requiring them to submit to his authority. No answer being returned, he repeated his summons; to which the Parganiotes replied with firmness and courage, rejecting his overtures, and despising his menaces. They even concluded an alliance offensive and defensive with the Souliotes, who too late repented their not having seized the opportunity, while Ali was combating the Prevezans and the French, of crushing the serpent which, sooner or later, was to stifle them in his folds. Being thus foiled with respect to Saint Maure and Parga, the artful Albanian seized Gomitza, situated upon the same coast. He then encamped at Butrinto, near the village called Mauroli. This position opened to him the sea, a great advantage, as it was not without uneasiness that he saw the Russians such near neighbours to his Pachaship. To cover his frontiers from a sudden invasion, which he apprehended as much from the Russians as from the Turks, upon whose friendly disposition he could no longer rely, he caused a corps of observation to advance, which at the same time took part in the operations before Corfu. The number of his soldiers who at various times had been employed in that island, amounted to 6000 men. This position secured him from all surprise from without, and at the same time enabled him to take advantage of circumstances. The poverty of the

country was amply supplied by his resources in the interior. The siege of Corfu was being successfully prosecuted, and Ali impatiently awaited the event, when a Turkish pirate, who was crossing the strait, received orders to bring to in the anchorage. He had on board several French prisoners, who, after having formed part of the expedition into Egypt, had been captured in their passage to Malta or Italy. Two of them, M. Gérard and the Adjutant-general Beauvais, were delivered up to Cadir-Bey, the Turkish admiral. But Orouschs (the name of the pirate) had secreted in the hold M. Poitevin, Colonel of Engineers; M. Charbonnel, Colonel of Artillery; and M. Bessières, one of the *Savans* who had accompanied Bonaparte into Egypt. Such was the horror of their situation, that not only were they chained, and subjected to the most degrading insults, but the sole allowance they daily received for supporting a lingering existence, was a glass of fetid water, and a piece of biscuit, mouldy and full of worms.

Notwithstanding all the pirate's precautions, it transpired that he had on board prisoners of rank, the owners of portmanteaus filled with sequins. This report, so greedily swallowed by the Turkish soldiery, was not listened to by their generals. In the interval, as the vessels which were at anchor interrupted the evolutions of the Russian admiral, they all received sailing orders, and the

pirate amongst others. He instantly made for the port of Butrinto, near which was encamped the army of Ali Pacha, whose hands were still reeking with the blood of the Frenchmen slain at the battle of Nicopolis. Scarcely had the pirate anchored in view of the camp, than it was reported that he had on board prisoners of great consequence. Ali, to be convinced of the truth, came himself in his *kirlanguitch*, a Turkish word signifying a swallow, which is given to these small boats on account of their lightness, and the velocity with which they sail. He ordered the pirate to come on board his vessel, who immediately declared the truth, and offered to give up the prisoners. His proposal being accepted, the French officers were immediately released from their confinement, their chains knocked off, and themselves presented to the Pacha. Whatever might be the fate which awaited them, it could not but be preferable to that from which they had just been delivered. The Pacha took possession of their papers, and returned to the camp. The prisoners would have been totally deserted in the midst of the army, had it not been for Ali's doctor, named Tasoni, an adventurer by profession, who had obtained the enviable post of being his *grammaticos*, or secretary. This person, who spoke French with elegance and fluency, acted as their interpreter to Ali, and for a long time remained their firm friend and protector.

Through his medium they learnt that the Pacha bitterly complained of the want of confidence manifested by the French generals commanding in Corfu, with whom he had wished to become allied, in order to make common cause together. Being at this period dissatisfied with the Russians, he perhaps sincerely regretted that the French had not taken notice of his overtures previously to the commencement of hostilities. But whatever might be the fact, he treated the prisoners with humanity, and even, by means of his *grammaticos*, released their servants from the clutches of the pirate. For twelve days they remained at the camp of Butrinto. There, robbed of all their property, and almost naked, they had to endure the inclemencies of an early and severe winter.

Ali's army was composed of Albanians inured to the cold temperature of the mountains, and who, clad in thick cloaks, seemed to bid defiance to the attacks of frost. During the day they were engaged in wrestling in the camp, or in dancing and singing their national songs transmitted to them from the times of Scanderbeg. A small portion of bread, with a few salted sardinias, or black olives, afforded them a most excellent repast. The very opposite of the Turks, whose sole happiness consisted in indolence; they were perpetually in action, expressing their joy at the approach of danger, and eager to expose themselves

to the perils of the siege. Giving themselves credit for the most trifling success, they were very careful never to own a defeat. Were they compelled to retreat, they qualified it by saying that they were not conquerors; while the gaining a single head was magnified into a victory. Loaded with arms, and sleeping during the night upon their thick cloaks with uncovered heads, and legs protected by leathern buskins, they were satisfied with their lot, and considered themselves as perfectly happy in living thus in the midst of a camp. A natural consequence of this hardy life was, that in an army of six thousand men, scarce twenty invalids were to be found. Ali, a true Albanian, speaking no language except his vernacular tongue and Greek, placed all his happiness in commanding such soldiers to whom he was indebted for his elevation.

Corfu having been taken and occupied by the allies, Ali found himself obliged to withdraw his troops from his new continental possessions; a circumstance which produced in him a hatred against the Russians that time could never extinguish. This was still more increased by Admiral Oczakoff, who solicited and obtained for Mustapha the Pachaship of Delvino, which the Porte had deprived him of, and had conferred upon Ali. As some indemnification however and acknowledgment for his services in this campaign, the Grand Seignior returned him public thanks, send-

ing him at the same time the *Kelick-caftan*, or ermine pelisse, and a sabre enriched with brilliants; and that nothing might be wanting to his elevation, he received the patent of Roumelie-Valisi, or Viceroy of Romania—a dignity which conferred upon its possessor the title of Vizier. Greater honours were unattainable.

At the moment of marching his troops back into Epirus, Ali did not forget the French officers: they were all conducted to Janina, excepting Colonel Charbonnel, whom he kept about his person. He intended employing him in the establishment of a school for mark-firing at Bonila, a town near Janina, where he had a palace, gardens, and a military college. Ali gave him the command of his cannoneers, and, at his request, liberated the rest of the French prisoners from their confinement.

Naturally restless and active, Ali was continually travelling through the different parts of his territory, maintaining the people in their allegiance, or gaining new friends and adherents. Desirous of visiting once more the place of his birth, and of again traversing the fields which had witnessed his earliest exploits, he set out for Tepelini accompanied by M. Bessières, one of the Frenchmen resident at his Court.

Quitting Janina for Higher Albania, the Vizier and his suite after having proceeded along the southern bank of the lake, made their first halt

in the monastery of Mount Tomarus. Thence they arrived at the valley of Argyro-Castron, which in winding round to the west extends as far as Vallona, the ancient Aulona. Ali passed the night at Argyro-Castron, formerly the chief town of a Pachaship with two tails, and distant from Janina about ten leagues. This town, which had yielded to his arms after a long and obstinate resistance, was now governed by one of his creatures. The whole of the surrounding country is rich and fertile, but its inhabitants are uncivilised, and live in a continual state of warfare. Proceeding towards the north, Ali afterwards passed through a mountainous and woody country, and at length, after surmounting lofty rocks and penetrating through obscure forests, approached Tepelini, his native town, surrounded on all sides by barren mountains, and forming as it were the mouth of a funnel. The plague, which had infested several of the cantons of Albania, had just broken out there, and Ali, who was by no means a decided fatalist, was careful not to enter the town. He, therefore, deferred till a more convenient opportunity his intended erection of a palace and seraglio; and by the route of Zagori, which is equally mountainous and woody, he returned to Janina, where his presence had become necessary to repress the encroachments of Mustapha Pacha of Delvino. This Pacha had calculated upon the protection of the Russians occupying

Cerisy, and also upon a diversion on the part of the Souliotes.

Ali's first care was to visit his new military school at Bonila: he declared his intention of being present while the bombs were thrown, and of putting the skill of his own bombardiers to the test, by comparing it with that of the French colonel, whom he had placed at the head of the establishment. The day of trial having arrived, the Vizier repaired to Bonila, accompanied by the two Pachas, his sons, and his whole court, and followed by Baloucks-Bachis, Agas, Albanian captains, and, in short, the whole garrison of the capital. A small tent having been pitched for an object, the two first bombs were thrown by Colonel Charbonnel; the first fell beyond the mark, the other on this side of it, but both in the line of direction. He was about to rectify for the third shot, when Ali ordered his own bombardiers to commence throwing: this they did, but not one of their bombs touched the mark, all fell out of the direction. After six had been thrown, the Vizier commanded them to desist, calling them fools and blockheads. He then desired the Colonel to recommence, who, having had sufficient time to load a mortar himself, and to furnish it with a fusee he had previously prepared, calculated the charge from the mean of the two former shots so exactly, that the bomb fell upon one of the camp poles, and, by exploding, blew the tent

into the air. Shouts of admiration succeeded. The gallery of the seraglio of Bonila, which overlooked the battery, and in which were the Pachas and the court, resounded with acclamations. All (except Ali Pacha, who remained seated with his physician) rose, and came to the battery. Veli Pacha, by his father's order, took the Colonel by the hand, and introduced him to the Vizier, who congratulated him upon his success, and presented him with a pelisse. He at the same time granted him his whole confidence, as *Topdgi* and *Comparadgi*, or, chief of the cannoneers and bombardiers. The next day, by order of the Vizier, the colonel received a complete Turkish dress. Entrusted with the instruction of several young Greeks and Turks who were destined for the artillery service, his duties gave him frequent access to the Vizier, a circumstance which was of material advantage to the French officers. War having been declared against Mustapha Pacha of Delvino, the Colonel received orders to prepare a small field and battering train, which was effected in the most expeditious manner. The Greek peasants having been put in requisition for dragging the mortars and cannon to the frontiers of Mustapha, performed this service under the direction of their *Papas*, who acted as captains in this singular militia.

The wars which occasionally happen among the Pachas are not to be compared in length and

calamities with those which break out between sovereigns: the former are the exact counterpart of those which have distracted Greece in every age. When the Pachas or Agas have recourse to arms to decide their quarrels, a month, a week, and sometimes even a night, is sufficient to bring back the olive-branch of peace, or accomplish the flight and destruction of their adversaries. Their cattle are then driven off, sometimes a few feet of olive plantations are wrested from them, and all animosities are in a short time, by the nature of things, softened down and forgotten.

As soon as Ali's army entered the frontiers of the Pacha of Delvino, and the Albanians had made the mountains re-echo with their *brokavalos*, or war songs, they commenced living at the enemy's expense. Mustapha, who acted upon the defensive, not caring to dispute the positions which covered the town, Ali advanced upon it almost without striking a blow. Delvino, enclosed within the dominions of Ali, is situated upon a height, and surrounded by very commanding military positions. It has a castle, the fortifications of which are of remote antiquity, but which cannot be of much advantage to a town so well defended by its locality. Its population is about eight thousand inhabitants.

Ali did not think proper to take it by assault; perhaps he was anxious to try the effect of his artillery: bombs were therefore thrown into the

town, and Mustapha Pacha was not long in sub-mitting to the will of the Vizier of Janina.

Having returned to his capital, he found order and peace re-established throughout every part of his territory : the *Kleftes* had disappeared ; and the Beys, prostrate before his throne, no longer dared to interrupt tranquillity by their intestine wars. Ali had adopted as his maxim for government, the well-known principle of tyrants, that of reducing all to a systematic despotism and a vigilant police. His espionage penetrated into the very sanctuary of families. His own sons even were subject to it. The tragical end of the beautiful Phrosina, condemned to death in the month of January 1801, for having indulged connections of a tender nature with Mouctar, Ali's eldest son, left among the Greeks a lasting impression of sorrow and regret. This young beauty was celebrated in Janina less for the charms of person, than for the elegance of her manners and the graces of an accomplished mind. A Greek by extraction, enjoying an ample fortune, with the delights of being a wife and mother, (for she had married one of her opulent countrymen,) she seemed to be possessed of every means of sublunary bliss. But, unfortunately for herself, she had renounced that retired and secluded mode of life which is the common lot of females throughout the rest of the Turkish empire. Phrosina had become the very life and soul of society at Janina :

the gravest and most reserved of men spoke with enthusiasm of her brilliant talents, and of the delight afforded by her conversation. Mouctar was not long insensible to so many charms; he became enamoured of the beautiful Greek, and resolved to effect her ruin. He seized the opportunity of urging his amorous suit while her husband, engaged in commercial pursuits, was absent at Venice. Ill-fated separation! Phrosina was at first alarmed at the love with which she had inspired Mouctar; he, however, only became more pressing, and Phrosina, forgetful of her duty, at length gratified her pride by holding a Pacha in her chains. Fearless of a rival, she assumed an influence over him which flattered her vanity; and Mouctar, every day more and more happy, was every day less disposed to dispute her sway. A coolness between him and his wife, already too much neglected, was the natural consequence of his new passion: this awakened the most violent jealousy in the bosom of the imperious daughter of Ibrahim, who communicated her resentment to her sister, the wife of Veli Pacha. Time, however, seemed to mock their impatience to find proofs against the object of their hate; but at length an opportunity presented itself during the absence of Mouctar, who had marched to repress an insurrection in Romelia: they eagerly seized it. A ring of immense value, enriched with brilliants, was one day brought to Mouctar's wife by a

jeweller: she immediately recognized it as a wedding present she had made to her faithless husband. The jeweller being questioned, answered that he was commissioned to sell this ring by the beautiful Phrosina. Taking the jewel with them, Mouctar's wife, accompanied by her sister, proceeded to the Vizier's palace. Being admitted into his presence, they prostrated themselves before him, embraced his knees, and weeping bitterly, demanded justice against the intriguing Phrosina, whom they accused not only of incontinence, but of cupidity, in thus obtaining the jewels of their husbands. Whether Ali himself, as it is supposed, had a criminal intercourse with the wife of Veli Pacha, his younger son, and therefore could not refuse her solicitations, or whether he considered himself as indebted to his two daughters-in-law for his power in Higher Albania, having already by their means deprived their father, Ibrahim, of a considerable portion of his territory, he swore to them by the beard of Mahomet, that he would satisfy their just desire for vengeance. Unwilling to intrust the execution of his orders to any of his officers, lest they should be exposed to Mouctar's resentment on his return, he himself, accompanied by some guards, repaired during the night to Phrosina's residence. The door being opened to him, with a lamp in his hand he entered her bed-room, and suddenly awakening her, shewed the ring, and asked if she

recollected it. The wretched Phrosina, devoted to destruction, immediately read her fate in the rage-distorted features of the Vizier. Denial was useless. Collecting her jewels, and placing them at his feet, she implored him by his feelings as a father, by that son whom it was her crime to have loved too well, and but for whom she had been an innocent mother, to have compassion on her. Her tears, her prayers, were unavailing with the stern and inexorable Ali. He commanded her to rise and follow him, permitting only her favourite slave to accompany her. Having arrived in the court-yard, he ordered his guards to conduct them both into a Greek church, upon the borders of the lake, whither, a few moments afterward, twenty of the vilest prostitutes were also brought by his orders. There they passed the night in prayers, every moment expecting the stroke of death. The following day, however, passed over without the fatal order being issued. Ali seemed to be influenced either by pity or remorse. He hesitated signing the sentence by which both Turkish and Grecian women are condemned to death when guilty of incontinence. He has since said that he only delayed the execution in hopes that in the interval some application might be made to him in their favour. The death-warrant being at length given, the next evening they were placed in a boat, conducted to some distance upon the lake, and there each in succession was sewn in a

sack, and precipitated into the waves. Phrosina and her faithful attendant, availing themselves of a momentary inattention of their guards, after tenderly embracing, threw themselves into the lake locked in each other's arms.

Rumours of wars soon began to occupy the thoughts of Ali. Having still some views upon the French officers his prisoners, he ordered them before him, and formally promised them their liberty; they were, however, to be liberated one after the other, for fear of incurring the displeasure of the Porte, who knew of their detention in Epirus. He at the same time made them many protestations of friendship, and entering into some details upon European discipline, was warm in his eulogiums upon the bravery and glory of the French armies. The Russians were now the objects of his hatred: their vicinity at Corfu made him very uneasy. He knew that a very intimate union was being established between Souli, Parga, and Corfu, which would enable the Russians to sow disaffection in his dominions, excite a spirit of revolt against his power, and furnish his enemies with arms and ammunition.

Resolved to strain every nerve to dissolve such dangerous connexions, the Vizier secretly hastened preparations for a new war against the Souliotes. The moment was favourable. His recent successes against the Christians had enlisted in his favour the passions of the Musul-

mans, and gained him the good opinion of the Turks in general. Ali had endeavoured to gain over to his party several of the principal families of Souli, where they were not sufficiently proof against his seductions and artifices. He particularly relied upon his intelligence with Georges Botzari, who, as Polemarch, had governed the republic for two years.

The name, however, of the Souliotes had become an object of terror throughout all Albania, and the impression of their last defeat was not yet erased from the recollection of the Arnauts: Ali thought to interest them in the success of this new war by motives still more powerful, if it were possible, than the desire of glory and the thirst for vengeance. He convoked a meeting of the Beys and Agas his allies, at Janina; and after having assembled them in the Castron, he caused a venerable Scheik to be introduced, a minister of the holy religion of the prophet: this man, opening a Koran, found in it several allusions to the state of Albania, and a prophecy, which promised them success in their approaching expedition. The scheik exhorted the Agas and Beys to undertake this war with a zeal and enthusiasm worthy the first Ottoman conquerors. "Well, then!" said Ali, rising from his seat, "if we be indeed the true and faithful servants of the Prophet, let us take a solemn oath, by invoking the sacred name of Mahomet; let us swear that death

alone shall make us abandon our enterprise against the Souliotes, till that horde of mountaineers has bent beneath the vigour of our arms." The whole of the assembly, influenced more by their fear of the Vizier than by any reliance upon his prophecies, bent their foreheads in token of acquiescence, and swore to prosecute the war.

Without the least loss of time, Ali assembled twelve thousand men, propagating at the same time various reports. Now it was his intention to attack Parga, and now Saint Maure; at one time he projected wresting Corfu from the Russians, at another he proposed sailing to Egypt to expel the French. Suddenly he marched against the Souliotes; and it being now summer, in which season the rivers are either dried up or fordable, he found fewer obstacles to impede his operations. The Souliotes, kept in ignorance of the Vizier's projects, and deceived by the treachery of Botzari, who, instead of buying arms and ammunition with the subsidies of the Russians, had divided them among his friends and creatures, were taken by surprise. Upon the arrival of Ali's troops at the foot of the mountain, the traitor deserted to the Albanian camp with all his followers. Although betrayed, the Souliotes were not cast down. Tzavella was dead; but the young Foto maintained the honour of his name, under the tutelage of his mother, the heroine Mosco.

Their captains assembled in council, and re-

solved to endure the greatest sufferings rather than submit to the Musulman yoke. An exact account of their resources, both in provisions and ammunition, was drawn up; and their troops being enrolled, were found to amount to two thousand soldiers, commanded by thirty-one captains. The animating example of Mosco was seconded by a man named Samuel, a Caloyer, who, running through the ranks with a Bible in one hand and a sabre in the other, kept up the enthusiasm of the soldiery, by striking off heads and expounding prophecies.

The army of the Vizier in the mean time had advanced by the southern districts in order to turn the positions. The Souliotes at first retreated, leaving all the villages of the plain in the power of the enemy, who, raising their war-cry, pursued them with the greatest fury, hoping to force the first defile. There, however, they were overwhelmed and crushed by enormous stones rolled down from the heights above, whilst thousands of musquet-balls with fatal aim whistled round them, without their being able to discover the hands by which they were directed. In the thickest of the fight, a corps of three thousand chosen men, under the orders of Selictar Ali, had succeeded in outflanking the Souliotes by the mountain of Bagoritza; but Foto, rushing thither with his brave palikars, soon put the Albanians to the rout. The Vizier then ordered the retreat,

and causing Botzari to be brought before him, reproached him with having misled him by false hopes, and commanded him to march immediately at the head of his own troops against his countrymen. Botzari, whose life depended upon the Vizier's nod, not daring to resist his will, conducted his troops by unknown paths, hoping to fall upon Kako-Souli by surprise, while Ali at the same time made an attack in another point, in order to divert the attention of the Souliotes. Whether the latter had been informed of the traitor's march, or whether they were prepared for every emergency, the Vizier could not penetrate one of their defiles without finding himself opposed by their principal corps; while Botzari's troops having been defeated and cut to pieces, that traitor took to flight and died soon after: according to some of shame and grief; according to others, from poison, administered by his own hands.

Ali, who had ordered the retreat, was, however, as obstinate in attacking the Souliotes as they were resolute to defend themselves. He did not cease in his dispatches to excite the jealousy of the Porte against the Russians, on the subject of their occupation of Corfu: he even at length persuaded the Divan to confer upon him a more extended and a more absolute power, in order to counterbalance the influence of the Russians in the Ionian Isles, and prevent them from foment-

ing dissensions in the subaltern states of Epirus. A firman was immediately dispatched to him, which required Pronio, Aga of Paramithia, Hassan, Bey of Margariti, and several other independent chiefs, to assist the Vizier in all his enterprises. By this means he received a reinforcement of fifteen hundred men in his camp at Lippa, near the source of the Acheron. He then ordered a general attack: Pronio, the secret friend of the Souliotes, had given them intimation of it, and advised them to re-unite all their forces, and boldly advance against an enemy already humbled by former defeats. The mountaineers accepted this judicious advice, placed the flower of their army under the command of Foto and Dimo Drao, their two best captains, and filing their troops through the passes of the Cassopean mountains, marched forward to meet their advancing enemy.

At this moment a dreadful storm of hail, lightning, and thunder, burst over the heads of both armies. The Souliotes, more hardy than the Albanians, availed themselves of this circumstance to rush upon them with the utmost fury. The latter were scarcely able to sustain the first shock, having been abandoned by their allies, who fled into the mountains. Ali lost more in prisoners than in killed and wounded. His main body with difficulty rallied at the camp of Lippa. Despairing to reduce the Souliotes by force, he resolved

to change his system of warfare, and to convert it into a blockade.

Having collected all his troops, he held a council of war. Convinced that they would refuse to make any further attempts at storming, he brought to their recollection the fruitless attacks hitherto made, and proposed to them his plan of forming a strict blockade. It was resolved in consequence to erect batteries and redoubts at the entrance of the different defiles, and continually to besiege and annoy the mountaineers, either by cannonading them, or throwing bombs among them, as much as the difficulties of the localities would permit. For this last service the Vizier relied upon his French prisoners at Janina. We have already stated their advancement in his favour. For two years he had promised them their liberty; but nothing indicated the fulfilment of his promise. Their captivity was thus indefinitely prolonged, and their existence lingered away in sighs for their native country. As they were bound by no engagement nor verbal promise to remain, they concerted together the means of escaping by flight from a state of exile which every day became more and more insupportable. At the moment their project for escape became ripe for execution, Ali, solely occupied in his new plan of warfare against the Souliotes, ordered Colonel Charbonnel to organise a small park of artillery, the command of which was to be entrusted to him.

This officer, who had already trained some cannoneers for the Pacha's service, was soon in a condition to fulfil the wishes of Ali, whose troops immediately began their march.

On the third day, the Turkish army pitched its tents before the principal defile of Souli, and commenced fortifying it. The French Colonel erected a battery, and after having remained there for a fortnight, with his eyes directed towards those lofty mountains on whose summits the "labouring clouds do often rest," and before whom Ali felt his weakness, he feigned a pretext for returning to Janina. As his labours were now terminated, and as the reduction of the enemy could only be the work of time, he easily obtained the desired permission.

Having joined General Pojtevin and M. Bessières at Janina, they finally arranged their plan of escape: they were all fortunate in executing it, arriving at Corfu one after the other in perfect safety. Upon learning their flight, Ali, who had remained in the camp at Souli without having the least suspicion of what was taking place, feeling his vanity wounded and himself deprived of the knowledge and experience of three foreigners, who were of such utility to him, flew into the most dreadful paroxysm of fury, and swore that he would retake them. He dispatched couriers to all parts, especially to the maritime frontiers of his Pachaship, promising

munificent rewards to those who would bring back the prisoners, dead or alive. Convinced, at length, that all his vigilance was unavailing, he hung up the unfortunate muleteer who had assisted them in their flight. He also visited with his anger the other French prisoners who were at Janina, and had them imprisoned; nor were they liberated till he had received intelligence that the three fugitives, whom he had demanded at Corfu, had been given up to the Turkish authorities, and were on the road to Constantinople.

In the mean time he continued to hem in the Souliotes still more closely. Dividing his army into five columns, he occupied the entrance to all the principal defiles, and in one night constructed sixty-four small towers, which he afterwards replaced by a less number of redoubts, each capable of containing from two to four hundred men. The Souli chiefs had also divided their forces into five corps, for the purpose of more effectually opposing their enemy. A troop of women well disciplined were entrusted with the care of the provisions, and occasionally performed the duties of sentinels. They also distributed the powder and ammunition to the soldiers during the action, and often took a more active part in it. No sooner were the redoubts finished, than the Vizier ordered a general attack;

but the Albanians were again repulsed in all quarters, finding safety only in their intrenchments.

After so many defeats, nothing but the force of their oath could have induced the Beys to persevere. Ali obtained a fresh firman from the Porte requiring other Beys and other Pachas to send him reinforcements. The Vizier of Berat, Ibrahim himself, was compelled to furnish two thousand men to his dangerous antagonist.

After numerous attacks, which were all terminated in favour of the Souliotes, Ali, desirous of confining his operations to a rigorous blockade, desisted from all active warfare. He flattered himself that famine and treason would be more effective than his arms: in fact, before three months had elapsed, the Souliotes found themselves reduced to eat the wild herbs and the bark of the dwarf trees which grew among their rocks. They recruited their declining vigour with this gross food, boiled up with the remains of a little wheat. The Vizier did not fail in the mean time to endeavour to shake their resolution by artful negotiations. At one time he proposed to them considerable sums of money; at another, the possession of a rich and fertile country, in exchange for their wild and desert mountains; and lastly, having represented their destruction as inevitable, he offered to purchase their territories, at the same time guaranteeing to them a

safe conduct to the Ionian Isles. But the Souliotes, losing neither their courage nor their hopes, answered, "That Epirus was their country, and that they would live and die near the tombs of their forefathers." Nine months had now elapsed since they had been abandoned to themselves, being as closely immured as in a citadel. Anxious to diminish as much as possible the number of useless mouths, they succeeded in sending away by unknown paths a number of women, children, and old men; who were received by the Russians of the Ionian Isles with the greatest hospitality. The success of this attempt induced them (for their last resources were now failing them) to dispatch during a dark night a small corps of four hundred men and sixty women, who, after having loaded themselves with provisions, returned in safety to their mountains: abundance re-appeared amidst the wild rocks of Souli, and re-animated the drooping spirits of their inhabitants.

At the intelligence of this supply, which procrastinated the term of his hopes, Ali bitterly exclaimed against the negligence of his troops, and declared that he was betrayed. He even punished some of his officers, whom he accused of collusion, with death, and refused paying the arrears of the auxiliary troops, whom he began to mistrust. Ibrahim Pacha not only recalled his, but secretly furnished the Souliotes with ammu-

nition and provision. Pronio, Aga of Paramithia, also rendered them all the services in his power. About this time, the Souliotes received from Bonaparte, then First Consul, arms and ammunition, which were landed from the French brig l'Arabe, at Porto Fanari. This assistance was, however, more injurious than serviceable to their cause, having been viewed both by the Russians and English with feelings of uneasiness and alarm.

In the mean time, the interval of a truce granted by Ali to the Souliotes had given rise to a formidable league in their favour. The two Pachas, of Berat and Delvino, Ibrahim and Mustapha, more and more apprehensive of the ambitious projects of Ali, entered into a league offensive and defensive with the Souliotes: they were also joined by Pronio, Mahmoud, Bey of Tzamoria, and Doliano, Aga of Konispolis. Thus, the Souliotes giving as it were the signal to all the independent tribes of Epirus, the whole coast from Avlona to Souli were in arms against the Vizier of Janina:

An attack along the whole extent of his line was the first intimation of his danger. Any other but Ali would have succumbed under this general confederation; but without being alarmed at it, he opposed to it the force of his own genius and the irresistible power of gold. By immense largesses, prudently distributed among the independent Beys

of the Musaché, he excited an insurrection in the territories of Ibrahim, and thus kept him in check in Berat. At the same time he bought over the more needy Agas of Paramithia, who drove Pronio from their town. He also sowed dissension in the Chamouri, and, by bribing the commandant of the fortress of Delvino, he introduced into it a numerous corps of Albanians. He seized the Souliote hostages who had been detained there, forced Mustapha to betake himself to flight, and thus compelled him as well as Ibrahim to conclude a separate peace.

In vain did the Souliotes, in order to infuse fresh vigour into the league, attack Ali's outposts in his line of entrenchments; as a retaliation, he struck off the heads of the hostages he had captured at Delvino. All these events, which rapidly succeeded each other, ruined the projects of the Souliotes, and convinced them that the whole burthen of the war would again fall upon them. They found that in future neither peace nor truce was to be expected. By a unanimous resolution they had elected for their Geronte or Polemarch, Samuel the monk, who by his ferocious enthusiasm had gained considerable influence over his countrymen. They had unreservedly confided to him the defence of the republic in its last extremity.

The year 1802 had already commenced with sad auspices for them, when Ali found his projects

once more interrupted by the revolt of Georgino, Pacha of Adrianople. Ali was obliged to send to the Grand Vizier's army before that town a part of his troops, under the command of his son Mouctar, who had received from the Porte the title of a Pacha with two tails: this diversion was however little favourable to the Souliotes, as Ali still rigorously maintained the blockade. The object of Mouctar's expedition having been speedily accomplished, the Vizier immediately employed the forces brought back by his son in strengthening his line of occupation. The active operations he confided to Mouctar, enjoining him not to be precipitate in his attacks, but to gain ground by degrees, while he himself, sometimes present in the line of blockade, at others traversing the whole extent of his Pachaship, was alike observant of the army, and the administration of civil government; and shewed that this war, though so obstinate and stubborn, did not in the least abate his activity and vigilance.

He still at times continued to try the effect of artifices and negotiations among the Souliotes, who, being in a state of siege, and seeing no period to their privations and fatigues, had become divided and discontented with each other. Ali, who was the secret cause of these dissensions, took advantage of them to seize their last position on the Acheron; by which loss they were now deprived of all water but that which came to

them from Heaven: thus they found themselves reduced, during the droughts, to let fall from the summits of their rocks, sponges tied to a cord, and loaded with a ball of lead, by means of which they succeeded in procuring themselves a small quantity of water.

Driven to despair, they made, towards the end of May 1803, their last attempt against their besiegers. Ali had constructed in one of his most important positions called Villa, a kind of square fortress, having a tower at each angle, and one in the centre more elevated than the rest, which served as a magazine for his army. The Souliotes resolved to set fire to it. Favoured by a dark night, two hundred of their bravest troops approached without being perceived; one of them, named Metococales, quitting the rest, began with his mattock the laborious work of digging, under the walls of one of the lateral towers, a mine for the reception of a barrel of powder, then lighting a slow match, he rejoined his comrades, who all began to attract the garrison to the spot by loud outcries. Scarcely had the Albanians arrived there than the tower was blown up with a dreadful explosion, and themselves buried under its ruins. Rushing forward, the Souliotes seized the central tower, and after pillaging it, loaded their women and children, who formed their rear-guard, with the plunder. Day-break now approaching, they summoned that part of

the garrison to surrender, who, having escaped the sudden explosion, had barricadoed themselves in the three other towers. The Albanians affected to surrender; some of them even threw down their arms at the foot of the walls, but, while the Souliotes were picking them up, numbers were treacherously killed by an unexpected volley of musquetry. Irritated by this act of perfidy, the survivors sent for a reinforcement, and upon its arrival the towers were surrounded by combustible materials, which being ignited, the whole garrison perished in the flames.

This was the last exploit of these intrepid mountaineers. Ali, exasperated beyond all bounds by this fresh disaster, issued proclamations, calling upon all the Musulmans under his dominion, and all his allies, in the name of the Prophet, to avenge the death of their brethren. Having assembled an army, he divided it into five corps, each corps being opposed to one of the principal defiles, and all connected together by a strong line or cordon of posts. To excite still more the courage of his troops, he despatched his second son Veli Pacha to the army; and as he at length foresaw the accomplishment of his wishes, he ordered his two sons to promise, in his name, double pay to his soldiers, no sacrifice being deemed too great to ensure a speedy termination to the war.

The victims both of want and internal discord,

the Souliotes no longer indulged any hope. In vain did the Polemarch Samuel invoke Heaven: the fatal accomplishment of their destiny had at length arrived. Preparations were made in the Vizier's camp for a general and decisive attack. Already the approaching destruction of these valiant mountaineers was announced at court; but the intelligence excited universal pity. Commiseration for their fate found its way even into the seraglio of Ali, and a powerful arm appeared raised in their behalf. Emineh, the wife of Ali, and mother of Mouctar and Veli, touched with the heroism of the Souliotes, fell at the Vizier's feet to implore his clemency. "Oh, my lord! deign," said she, embracing his knees, "deign to listen to your most devoted slave; and be not insensible to her tears! The tutelar genius of your fortunes has warned me in a dream that you ought to spare the Souliotes." "The Souliotes, the most inveterate, the most implacable of my enemies!" exclaimed the Vizier, in a voice of thunder. At the same time, a prey to the most violent agitation, he drew a pistol from his girdle and discharged it at the tender Emineh, who falling in a swoon was instantly carried by her slaves into the seraglio. While in the blackest despair, Ali was soon after informed that Emineh had not even been wounded, but that, overcome by surprise and fright, her life was in danger. The Vizier, who felt all his tenderness revive,

watched by her bedside with unremitting anxiety throughout the night; but all his cares were vain, the Angel of Death had claimed her.

Under these fatal auspices the news of the total defeat of the Souliotes was announced at Janina. The arts and gold of the Vizier had procured some defiles to be delivered up to him, which ensured a passage to his troops. Veli, by his father's orders, had made several general attacks. The Turks penetrated even to the summits of the mountains, and the Souliotes, being outflanked and enclosed between two fires, retreated, some to Kiaffa, and the rest to Kako-Souli. There, blockaded, and reduced to all the horrors of famine and drought, and exposed to the vengeance of a numerous and implacable enemy, they at length accepted the only capitulation offered to them, that of emigrating with their whole population, either to Parga, or the Ionian Isles. All these conditions were agreed to and signed on the 12th of December 1803. The wretched emigrants began their march in two columns. Three hundred of their countrymen, under the command of their general and patriarch Samuel, still remained upon the Kunghi, in the fortress of Aghia Paraskevi. Fearless and intrepid, they had observed the advance of the Albanians, whom they continued to oppose for six days successively. But provisions, and, above all, water failing them, they at length found them-

selves forced to capitulate upon the same terms as Kiaffa and Kako-Souli, with an additional article, by which they were required to deliver up their warlike stores. Hostages being interchanged, and the positions evacuated, the monk Samuel remained alone with four soldiers, for the purpose of giving up the stores to two Bealouks-Bachis, sent by Veli Pacha. Holding in his hand a lighted torch, he descended with them into the subterraneous caverns in which the ammunition was deposited, and there, resolved not to survive the ruin of his country, with his own hand he fired the powder, and, with the tower and all contained in it, was in an instant blown into a thousand atoms.

Informed of this explosion, the Vizier considering himself as absolved from all obligations towards the Souliotes, determined to avenge himself upon the two columns of emigrants which were advancing, the one towards Parga, the other towards Preveza. Five thousand Albanians received orders to pursue them. Having overtaken the first division, the courageous Souliotes formed instantly an open square, placed the women, children, and cattle in the centre, and sword in hand, cut a passage for themselves through their opposing enemies. The second column, less fortunate, was attacked by the Vizier's troops near the monastery of Zalongo. There, intrenching themselves in the court-yard, they endeavoured

to stand on the defensive; the gates, however, were soon forced, and men, women, and children were immediately butchered without mercy. The few who escaped the carnage retired upon Arta. About a hundred women, finding themselves separated from the men, and on the point of being surrounded, clambered up a rock at a short distance from Zalongo. Having gained the summit, preferring death to dishonour, and joining hand in hand, they began to sing and dance with that species of fury with which in days of yore the Bacchantes are said to have been inspired: suddenly, as if in defiance of the Musulmans, they raised a triumphant shriek, and the next moment precipitated themselves and children into the waters of the Acheron. After these horrors, the Vizier, wearied, but not satiated with carnage, took the road to Janina, dragging in his train the remnants of this unhappy people to adorn his triumph. Upon his *entrée* the town appeared as if converted into an immense circus, which resounded with the acclamations of the victors, and the mournful groans and lamentations of the vanquished.

The Souliotes, after their dispersion, fled some to Saint Maure, others to the Beys of Higher Albania, but the majority to Parga and Corfu, where they lived either at the expense of public charity, or maintained themselves by enlisting in the ranks of their protectors.

Ali, from the recollection of what these mountains had cost him, attached so much importance to them, that he resolved to make them the bulwarks of Epirus. He began by establishing garrisons, re-erecting the towers which had been demolished, and digging wells: in a short time he converted these rocks into a most formidable military position, and laid there the foundation of a superb fortified seraglio, which, crowning the most lofty summit of Kiaffa, became the strongest citadel in his dominions.

The destruction of the Souliotes, who for two years and a half had triumphed, if not over the Ottomans themselves, at least over their most determined efforts, considerably increased the celebrity of Ali Pacha. His exploits were recounted from one extremity of Epirus to the other, and the fame of them at length reached the Sultan Selim. This prince, whether from a wish to recompense him, or from having occasion for his arm against the hordes of brigands who were desolating Macedonia and Thrace, again conferred upon him the patent of Roumelie-Valisi, at the same time investing him with all the authority belonging to that important office. Under the appellation of *Kersales*, the brigands, headed by their bold and daring chiefs, devastated the environs of Philippopolis and the valleys of Mount Pengeus; they even pushed their excursions as far as Pelagonia. The couriers were stopped and

rified in every direction. The progress of the caravans even was interrupted, and a serious inconvenience consequently inflicted upon commerce. To restore security, and to establish a vigorous police in these desolated countries, was the task imposed by the Divan upon the conqueror of Nicopolis and Souli. Scarcely had the Vizier received the imperial diploma, when he collected ten thousand Albanian soldiers, at the head of whom, passing Mount Pindus in the spring of 1804, he encamped at Monastir*, a large town situated about a day's march west of the lake of Ochrida. Having first cleared the adjacent country of several bands of robbers, Ali afterwards summoned to his assistance the forces of the Aians of Illyria and Macedonia, and at length crossed the Vardar at Tchiuperli.

In addition to his Albanians, Ali ranged under his standard the contingents of the Pacha of Delvino, of the Vizier of Berat, of the Vaivodiliks of the Taulantia, of the Sangiacs of Scodra, of the Chiefs of the Dribes, of Ochrida and the Lake Koulac, and lastly, of the Spaïs of Thessaly. In a short time the cavalry of the Serres, the Agas of Thessalonica, the Timariots, and the whole forces of Sophia, arrived in his camp. He appeared at the gates of Philippopolis at the head of ~~an~~ army exceeding eighty thousand men. Two-

* Or Bitolia.

thirds of the Pachas of European Turkey were under his command. Throughout his whole progress he scoured the country, levied contributions, and spread abroad the terror of his name. After having encamped before the town, he cited the rebel chiefs already taken, before his dreaded tribunal. Several were condemned to lose their heads, the rest were retained as hostages. His march, not less astonishing than his activity in collecting so vast an army, gave rise to the opinion that he meditated striking a fatal blow against the empire. It was, however, erroneous; his only ambition was to found an immense vassalage, the inheritance of which might be transmitted by him to his children. Besides, how could he expect to preserve for any time the union of such a vast body of men, differing so widely both in country and language, influenced by long-standing jealousies, and speaking the Turkish, Slavonian, Valaque, and Bulgarian tongues? An army so composed could not fail to be broken up upon the least misunderstanding or dissension.

Obscure hints and dark rumours had already produced a considerable fermentation in it: seditious expressions began to be common throughout the camp; and the name of Selim was no longer mentioned but with contempt. The intention even of raising a new standard was avowed; when suddenly an insurrectionary movement manifested

itself. It was thought to have been organized by the Divan itself, for the purpose of entrapping Ali (whose intentions were suspected) in a rebellion which would have insured his destruction. He avoided the snare. They had already seized their arms, and were proceeding to his headquarters, when, suddenly appearing before the mutineers, surrounded by his faithful Albanians, he exclaimed, "If it be a dislike to inaction which induces you to take up arms, I applaud your conduct; strike the tents, and let every one follow me to the general rendezvous at Sophia." Thus saying, he began his march, persuaded that this would be the signal for the withdrawing of the most mutinous corps: his conclusion was just, for the majority seized this opportunity of returning home, while he retook the road to Monastir. The fears, however, of the Divan did not wholly cease till he had repassed the Vardar. Ali himself did not feel secure till he approached Epirus, and had entered a friendly country; without, however, betraying either suspicion or alarm, he demanded from the Divan a *carte blanche*, in case he should be required to renew the campaign. He was informed that the Sultan was satisfied with his conduct, without, however, confirming him in the powers with which he had ~~been~~ invested.

The only reproach he has deserved is that of having pillaged Romelia in favour of Albania.

He re-entered Janina, laden with spoil, carrying with him the artillery he had taken from the fortified towns which lay in his march, and swelling his coffers with war contributions which he had every where levied.

Other enemies awaited him. After the reduction of the Souliotes, Ali had refused to withdraw his troops from the district of Tzamouria, unless all its sea-ports were put into his possession: these would have formed a line of defence against the intrigues of Corfu. In fact, he had concluded with the Captain Pacha a treaty, by which he farmed all the duties produced from the ports of this maritime coast; but the Beys refused to remit the produce into his hands; they offered, however, to pay it to any other officer of the Porte. This dispute was only a pretext for another war. The Beys retook a fortress of which Ali Pacha had possessed himself by a *coup-de-main*; and not only did they solicit the assistance of the Russians, but they also invited the exiled Souliotes to join them, flattering them with the hope that they should be re-established in their mountains. They received from Count Mocenigo an additional reinforcement of Albanian warriors from Corfu: the Souliotes landed to the number of about fifteen hundred at Porto Fanari, near the mouth of the Acheron. But the issue of this war was fatal to the cause of independence. Ali took and pillaged above forty towns and vil-

lages, made a vast number of prisoners, and would have conquered the whole district, had he not judged it more politic to display his moderation by granting a peace to his enemies. This was concluded through the mediation of the Turkish admiral, Seravet-Bey: thus, affecting an entire deference to the wishes of the Porte, he succeeded in persuading it that his sole object in taking up arms was to maintain order and tranquillity.

The part which the Russians had taken in this dispute only served to increase the Vizier's hatred towards them. His jealousy against this power was still further augmented in 1805, by the submission to Russia of the country of Montenegro, situated to the north of Albania, the inhabitants of which were supposed capable of bringing twenty thousand men into the field. Russia, on her side, was not less jealous of the growing power of Ali: she foresaw that Epirus would oppose the most serious obstacles to the execution of her plans against European Turkey.

As to the Vizier, another subject of alarm, the progress of the French arms in Dalmatia, induced him to direct his view towards the English government. He already kept up an active correspondence with the court of St. James's, through ~~the~~ medium of Lord Collingwood, who had succeeded Nelson in the command of the squadron in the Méditerranæan. Major Leake had been

even despatched to Janina by the English minister, for the purpose of sounding Ali, and of seeing what real assistance it might be possible to afford him. The Major was detained in Epirus, in order to reconnoitre the country, and suggest at the same time the best means of defence to be adopted in case of invasion.

These facts having come to the knowledge of Bonaparte, he caused an exact report to be made him of the person and character of Ali, his political situation; and the means which he possessed of acting either on the offensive or defensive. The data were not difficult to be obtained, since two French officers had had a very near view of the Pacha, his court, his capital, and his dominions. The substance of the reports presented to Bonaparte was as follows :

“ Ali is from fifty to fifty-five years old,* but he does not exhibit any traces of a premature old age. His manly and open face is marked with decided features, which strongly express the passions which agitate him. Having the most perfect command over his physiognomy, his glance is seductive, and his well-practised smile indicates a sentiment the very reverse of that by which he is affected; but when inflicting punishment, he is unable to controul his anger, which manifests itself by a terrible convulsion of his features, indicative of the violence of his character. He is

* This report was written about 1802 or 1804.

brave to an extreme: his arms and breast are covered with honourable scars. Steady in his plans, if ever he finds himself compelled by circumstances to deviate from the line he has traced out, he returns to it again and again, and never loses sight of his object till it be attained. Extremely attentive to the convulsions which agitate, and the disasters which shake, the Turkish empire, he with the utmost dexterity avails himself of the weakness of the government to extend his frontiers, and to occupy advanced posts. Strong in the self-devotion of his creatures, and in the powerful friends whom he subsidizes even in the Divan, the Porte itself, aware of his resources, finds it expedient to conciliate his friendship. While aiming at actual independence, he never fails in the payment of tribute, certain that with money the favour of the Ottoman is always secure. He is fond of repeating that he is the modern Pyrrhus (Bourrhous, as he pronounces it). In fact, if the generosity and elevation of character, so prominent in Pyrrhus, be wanting, Ali at least possesses all his activity, restlessness, discernment, and rapid *coup-d'œil* both in the cabinet and in the field; but his policy has far greater stability. Ali is never lulled into a false security. Superior in knowledge and experience to the other Pachas, he is continually awake to what is passing in Europe: the newspapers are translated, to him, and it is rarely that a foreigner

passes through his dominions without being introduced to Ali, who never fails to glean from him some information: the various political events which affect the amicable relations of Sovereigns are also the frequent subjects of deep reflection and acute investigation.

“ His territory comprehends Epirus, Acarnania, a part of Etolia, Thessaly, and some cantons of Macedonia. This Pachaship, which includes so many others, is in fact subjected to his sole authority, the other Pachaships being mere empty titles: Ali's dominions therefore should, strictly speaking, be considered as a true sovereignty. Little satisfied with an ephemeral empire, to prevent his Pachaship from becoming the prey of strangers at his death, Ali carries his views even into futurity, and has already obtained from the Porte the title of Pacha for his two sons.

“ His revenues consist of timars, numerous flocks and herds, and taxes which are raised with less circumstances of severity and vexation than in any other part of the Turkish dominions. If an approximate calculation be made of his revenues, and the profits which he derives from the sale of wood and wool (for he is one of the first merchants and the chief monopolist in the country) be added, the sum total of his revenues may amount to about £480,000 sterling. With this sum he defrays the expenses of his household, remits his annual tribute to the Porte, and

pays his soldiers: the number of whom is in general from eight to ten thousand Albanians, but he is frequently obliged to increase his army, and consequently his expenses. The whole of his military establishment is in a very high state of improvement.

“In the acquirement of friends or the destruction of enemies, Ali unites the arts of political craft to the other powerful means already in his possession. Far from annoying the Agas by repressing their extortions, he permits them to continue their peculations with impunity. Hence therefore it is that the greater part entertain for him all the devotion of fanaticism.

“In later times, the French revolution nearly always formed the chief topic of his conversations; not, as some have asserted, with the intention of receiving from it instructions how to secure his own independence, but merely as affording an opportunity of conversing upon the French armies, of whose exploits he was a great admirer. He often questioned the French officers his prisoners, and asked them the cause of so many triumphs, attributed by himself to a species of magical influence, by which victory was ever propitious to the Gallic banners. Notwithstanding the misfortunes and consequences inseparable from war, Ali may truly be affirmed to have been well-disposed and friendly towards the French.”

This report, although a little heightened in

colouring, is for the most part conformable to the opinions formed of Ali Pacha by the majority of Frenchmen who had visited Epirus in the course of the war. It also contained reflections upon the importance of the ancient commercial relations between France and Albania. Before the revolution, France had imported timber from that country, which, far superior to that brought from the Baltic, had been employed in the dock-yards at Toulon with particular success: the finest French frigates having been constructed of it. But ten years of war had interrupted all this commercial intercourse. The French interest, being now more widely extended, required a more solid basis. During the reign of Louis XIV. that monarch had established at Janina a consul-general, for the purpose of promoting commercial relations with the Albanians. By reviving this establishment, great advantages both civil and political might be expected; for the town of Janina had become not only one of the most active in all Greece, but was also the seat of the modern power of Ali Pacha. For these different reasons, it was better calculated for the residence of a French consul-general than either Arta or Preveza. Every thing proved that Ali considered this distinction as a particular mark of the esteem of the French Emperor, for whom he had ever testified the highest regard; and that, if some trifling disputes still existed between Ali and

France, they would soon be accommodated, by regulating and settling the old outstanding accounts for stores, &c. furnished by Ali to the French army during its occupation of Corfu. Besides, by the establishment of an agent in his capital, France would be the better able to cope with her rivals the English; who, being masters of some important positions in the Mediterranean, were now also directing their views towards Epirus for the purpose of obtaining ship-timber, and also of injuring as much as possible the French marine in the south. In short, by forming an intimate connexion with Ali Pacha, the French would become the better acquainted with the localities, and by that means be enabled to discover resources which might be of infinite advantage to the government at home.

Bonaparte was the more desirous of adopting this course, as he hoped by this means to separate Ali Pacha from all connexion with the English; knowing besides that he detested the Russians, against whom he himself was on the point of marching. He nominated as consul-general at Janina M. Pouqueville, a learned and intelligent traveller, who had already explored Greece, and whose excellent character as a man could not but give additional weight to his public function. The consul-general sailed from the port of Ancona in the month of November 1805, with M. Julian Bessières, commissioned by the

government to introduce him to the Pacha, with whom M. Bessières had already had frequent personal communication. On his arrival at Ragusa, he dispatched a Tartar (a mounted courier) to the Vizier, informing him of his arrival on the Turkish frontier. About the end of January the two envoys arrived in Epirus with a Valaque, who had been sent by Ali to act as their interpreter. On their entering the port of Panormo* they were recognised by the Pacha's garrison, and saluted with volleys of musquetry. An officer from the Vizier was in waiting to compliment them on their arrival in the name of his master. They took the road to Delvino. War had broken out between the Vizier and the Beys of that town, which the two envoys found in possession of Ali's troops. The bazar, or public market, was in flames: it had been set on fire by Ali's soldiers in order to destroy the shops after they had been pillaged. The tumult resounded from afar, while the flames strongly illuminated that part of the town which remained untouched. The French were received in the house of a Bey, one of Ali's adherents. The next day they took the road to Janina, through the districts of Drynopolis and Pagoniani; and after a two-days march, they met the Vizier at the seraglio of Dzida, who gave them

* Now called Port-Palermo.

their first audience. We shall here continue the narration in M. Pouqueville's own words.*

“ After the usual compliments, the private dragoman of the Vizier was called, in order to commence the conversation, which the Pacha began by asking questions with a volubility very uncommon among the Turks. Through the shade (for the hall of audience was only illuminated by the flitting and uncertain light of a yellow bougie) I perceived the coruscations of his penetrating eyes, and observed the convulsive motions of his features; I listened to his conversation, apparently vague and unconnected, yet full of cunning and duplicity. Swinging himself about, continually laughing and talking, not a word escaped him but had its import, notwithstanding the rapidity of his utterance: he at times threw scrutinizing glances on me, and at length ordered his Greek secretary and his minister, who was dressed in black and wore a long white beard, to retire. We remained with the interpreter, who continued to stammer out the questions and answers, till after a conversation of about two hours, we withdrew, leaving the Vizier struggling between hopes and fears. This interview sufficed to dissipate some of the illusions which I had been under: Ali Pacha was neither a new Theseus, nor the modern Pyrrhus

* Voyage dans la Grèce, already quoted.

of Epirus. I was disgusted with his manners, and secretly deplored my fate in being compelled to reside near and be in communication with a man of such a character."

After this interview the two envoys retired to the Monastery of the Prophet Elias, which had been assigned them as a residence; and were received by the Greek Monks with the utmost hospitality and kindness. The next day the Pacha invited them to a second conference: he had risen before day-light, expecting them. The two envoys proceeded towards the seraglio. Two heads recently severed from their bodies were stuck upon stakes, and planted in the middle of the court-yard, without appearing to excite the least attention. Crowds of suppliants and courtiers, wholly unaffected by this horrid spectacle, were pressing towards the different staircases in order to arrive in the presence. "Cahonas, a species of ushers carrying long wands," adds M. Pouqueville, "made the crowd fall back in order to facilitate our approach; and for the second time I saw Ali Pacha. He was near his sixtieth year; and his figure, which is not above five feet nine inches high, was rendered still more ungraceful by an excessive corpulency. His features, loaded with wrinkles, were not, however, entirely destroyed; their easy play, and the brilliancy of his small blue eyes, imparted to the beholder a dreadful impression of cunning joined with

ferocity. Amidst the convulsions of a guttural laugh, many things which he said were somewhat tinged with grace and elegance. Eagerly receiving the presents brought him by M. Bessières, he became quite amiable, and launched out into a number of common-place protestations of friendship. He called us his children, his brothers, his kind friends; and, as if he had seen me for the first time, condescended to promise me his favour and protection in the exercise of the consular function to which I was appointed; and at length it was decided that we should set off the next afternoon for Janina.

“After this interview, the Vizier who had ordered a grand hunt, mounted his steed, and the next moment numbers of Albanian horsemen were seen tracking the game on all sides, and driving it towards their master.”

It will not, perhaps, be considered uninteresting to the reader, after having had Ali's person and manners described to him by a French writer, to compare the picture with one drawn by an enlightened and intelligent Englishman. Dr. Holland, in his interesting “Travels in the Ionian Isles, &c.” thus relates his first interview with the celebrated Vizier Ali:* “Passing through the almost savage pomp of this outer area of the seraglio, we entered an inner court, and dismounted at the foot of a dark stone-staircase. On the

* Holland's Travels, vol. i. page 177, and following.

first landing-place stood one of the Vizier's carriages; an old and awkward vehicle, of German manufacture, and such as might have been supposed to have travelled a dozen times from Ham-
burgh to Trieste. At the top of the staircase, we entered a wide gallery or hall, the windows of which command a noble view of the Lake of Janna and the mountains of Pindus; the walls are painted, and numerous doors conduct to it from different parts of the palace. This hall, like the area below, was filled with a multitude of people; and the living scenery became yet more various and interesting as we proceeded. We now saw, besides Turkish, Albanian, and Moorish soldiers, the Turkish officers and ministers of the Vizier; Greek and Jewish Secretaries; Greek merchants; Tartar couriers; the pages and black slaves of the seraglio; petitioners seeking to obtain audience, and numerous other figures which give to the court and palace of Ali Pacha a character all its own. A passage from this outer hall conducted us into a long and lofty apartment, the walls of which were beautifully painted, and all the decorations rich and superb. Here we were met by several pages and attendants of the Vizier, who led us to the door of his room of audience, accompanied by Signore Colovo, who had joined us at the gate of the seraglio, and now attended as our interpreter. A curtain was thrown aside, and we entered the apartment of Ali Pacha. The

first *coup-d'œil* was imposing. It was a large and lofty saloon, from which an area was separated at the lower end by four richly ornamented pillars; a low range of windows at the upper extremity affording the same magnificent view as that from the outer hall. The interior decorations of the apartment exhibited much gaudy profusion. Pilasters at equal distances, and richly ornamented, but without any regular order of architecture, gave variety to the walls of the apartment. On these pilasters, and in niches intermediate to them, were hung the arms of the Vizier—sabres, daggers, and pistols, all of the finest workmanship, and profusely adorned with gold and jewels. A Turkey carpet covered the floor, and divans entirely surrounded the room, except at its lower end. A large fire of wood was blazing on a hearth, above which a projecting chimney-piece, or rather chimney, rose in the form of a conical canopy, richly ornamented with gilding, &c.

“ These minute observations, however, were not made at the time of our entrance into the apartment. All our attention was at this moment occupied by the person of Ali Pacha himself, whose figure formed the most interesting part of the picture. He was sitting in the Turkish manner, with his legs crossed under him, on a couch immediately beyond the fire, somewhat more elevated than the rest, and richer in its decorations. On his head he wore a high round cap, of

the deepest mazarine blue colour, and bordered with gold lace. His exterior robe was of yellow cloth, likewise richly embroidered; two inner garments, striped of various colours, flowed down loosely from the neck to the feet, and were confined only about the waist by an embroidered belt, in which were fixed a pistol and dagger of beautiful and delicate workmanship. The hilts of these arms were covered with diamonds and pearls, and emeralds of great size and beauty set in the heads of each. On his fingers, the Vizier wore many large diamond rings, and the mouth-piece of the howkar, out of which he was smoking, was equally decorated with various kinds of jewellery.

“Yet more than his dress, however, the countenance of Ali Pacha at this time engaged our earnest attention. It is difficult to describe features either in their detail or general effect, so as to convey any distinct impression on the mind of the reader. Were I to attempt a description of those of Ali, I should speak of his face as large and full, the forehead remarkably broad and open, and traced by many deep furrows; the eye penetrating, yet not expressive of ferocity; the nose handsome and well formed; the mouth and lower part of the face concealed, except when speaking by his mustachios and the long beard which flows over his breast. His complexion is somewhat lighter than that usual among the Turks, and his general appearance does not indicate more than

his actual age, of sixty or sixty-one years, except, perhaps, that his beard is whiter than is customary at this time of life. The neck is short and thick, the figure corpulent and unwieldy; his stature I had afterwards the means of ascertaining to be about five feet nine inches. The general character and expression of the countenance are unquestionably fine, and the forehead especially is a very striking feature. Much of the talent of the man may be inferred from his exterior; the moral qualities, however, may not equally be determined in this way, and to the casual observation of the stranger, I can conceive from my own experience that nothing may appear but what is open, placid, and alluring. Opportunities were afterwards afforded me of looking beneath this exterior of expression. It is the fire of a stove burning fiercely under a smooth and polished surface."

The chase being ended, the Consul-General and his friend directed their course towards Janina. A boat filled with rowers awaited them at the head of the lake within the city barriers: they were landed at the castle called Chatirwan, where apartments had been prepared by them. A large fire, pages, servants, and all the glittering *appareil* of eastern splendor, indemnified them in some degree for the privations they had undergone. It was agreed that they should remain *incognito*, till a courier, who had been sent to

Constantinople should return to M. Pouqueville with the customary *barat* or *exæquatur*, a formal instrument, without which he could not be legally accredited. M. Julian Bessières, finding that day after day elapsed without the return of the courier, was under the necessity of setting off for France. "On the morning of the 4th March," says M. Pouqueville, "I separated from my friend with the greatest heaviness of heart: I saw myself as it were abandoned amidst Barbarians; for very few Europeans had as yet visited Janina. I found myself at the mercy of a man, of whom, spite of his apparent kindness, we already had had cause to complain. It must be owned, that the general aspect of the country and its inhabitants alarmed me most seriously, and filled me with the most gloomy apprehensions."

The courier who had been despatched to Constantinople having returned with the Grand Seignior's diploma, the next day the Greek and Turkish primates were convoked at Mekeme, to hear the *exæquatur* read, which was duly entered in the register of the Cadi. After this ceremony, and upon paying the usual fees, M. Pouqueville, invested with the French consulate, was recognized in that capacity at the court of the Vizier of Janina.

Scarcely had he entered upon his new office, than he determined to take an accurate survey

of Epirus, a country as yet but little known to Europeans. He wished at first to go to Ochrida, by traversing the chain of the Pindus from south to north; but his plans were constantly thwarted by Ali, under specious pretexts. The French were at that time in possession of the Illyrian provinces, and he strongly suspected that the object of their Consul-general's journey into that country was to shew them the road into Epirus. He was very uneasy, and it being prudent to conciliate him, the Consul did not insist upon it; circumstances, however, soon produced a change in Ali's politics.

The coalition of 1805 formed between England, Russia, and Austria, against Bonaparte, who had proclaimed himself Emperor, had just been broken up at Ulm and Austerlitz. Under her celebrated military chief, France had become the most preponderating power of continental Europe. Austria, being the first vanquished, was compelled to subscribe to the conqueror's conditions. The consequence was, not only the annexation of Dalmatia and Illyria to the French empire, but also the occupation of the kingdom of Naples by the troops of Bonaparte. So formidable a neighbour, who threatened Epirus on three different sides, raised very serious reflections in the Vizier of Janina. He was also informed that an approaching rupture was expected between Russia and

Turkey; and that the French ambassador at Constantinople (General Sebastiani) began to be in great favour with the Divan.

By this intelligence he regulated his conduct. The same Ali Pacha who in 1798 succeeded in cajoling the conqueror of Italy, was now seen employing all his prudence and address to conciliate the victor of Austerlitz. Far from repelling Ali's advances, Bonaparte sent him some presents, and amongst others a superb gun, ornamented with precious stones, and made at Versailles. Ali afterwards asserted, but without proof, that Bonaparte had offered to make him the independent king of Epirus: little credit, however, is to be attached to this assertion; most likely it was only founded upon the boastings of some subaltern diplomatist. Amicable relations, however, were soon established between Ali and Bonaparte. Ali, encouraged by Bonaparte to declare his hatred of the Russians, whom he continually called the *enemies of the Ottoman empire*, and with whom the French emperor himself was no longer on friendly terms, immediately perceived the part allotted him to act in approaching events, and only thought of turning them to his advantage. Certain that the French ambassador was at this time the prime mover of the Divan, whether by the presents which he distributed among its members, or from the influence of Bonaparte's victories, Ali obtained, through his

interest, the Pachaship of Lepanto for his son Mouctar, and that of the Morea for Veli his second son. On his side, he assisted the ambassador in accelerating the rupture between Turkey and Russia, as he foresaw it would afford him an opportunity of recovering the continental dependencies of the Ionian Isles, afterwards of seizing Saint Maure, and of making the Sinus Ambracius the centre of his power, as it had been that of Pyrrhus. Such was his plan. The favourable moment for its execution appeared, when the intelligence arrived of the invasion of the Turkish Ultra-Danubian Provinces by the Russians. Ali immediately seized Preveza, driving out Abdulla Bey, Vaivode of the Grand Seignior. In contempt of the treaty of 1800, he seized the lands and houses of the majority of the landholders, and distributed them amongst his own people; he levelled the churches with the ground, laid the foundation of a magnificent seraglio, and erected a superb mosque. His intention in this was to prevent every European power from having any interest in the recovery of the place, as well as to afford the Ottoman Porte a plausible pretext for refusing ever to subject a Turkish town to the protection of an Infidel power. Vonitza and Butrinto were treated in the same manner. The Christian population of Parga only escaped the danger, by the promptitude with which the Russians threw into it a garrison from Corfu.

At this signal, M. Flory, Russian Consul at Janina, was arrested by order of Ali. On all sides preparations were made for war. Ali encamped his army upon the shores of Playa, in that part where the strait which separates Saint Maure from the continent is narrowest. It consisted of eight thousand Albanians, commanded by his old general Jousouf, surnamed the Arab. The Russians opposed him with two thousand troops of the line, a vast number of his inveterate enemies the Souliotes, and many deserters who had fled from his tyranny. Ali warmly urged the French government to furnish him with artillery and engineers, engaging to keep the Russians of the Seven Isles so well employed, that it should be utterly impossible for them to annoy the French army in Dalmatia, or throw reinforcements into Cattaro, a town which the French, then in force at Ragusa, were on the point of besieging. His wishes were accomplished about the commencement of 1807. On the 14th February the first detachment of artillery-men, under the command of Colonel Nicole and Captain Poncetou, began their march from Ragusa across Bosnia. At the same time a corvette and a gun-boat, having on board the second detachment with considerable stores, sailed from Naples, then governed by Bonaparte's brother. These succours were landed at Playa, where his lieutenant Jousouf had established his head-quarters.

Colonel Vaudoncourt, an officer in the Engineers, who was entrusted by Marshal Marmont with a mission to the Beys and Pachas of Albania and Epirus, remained in Ali's dominions to superintend the defensive operations. Under his direction, Ali first constructed fortifications around his capital; he also fortified his seraglio of Litaritza; and at Preveza raised redoubts and lines which were formidable when compared with Turkish fortifications in general. After having made Preveza his grand depôt, he lost no time in attacking Saint Maure. The French artillerymen had been brought back in detachments from Porto Palermo, Santi Quaranta, Preveza, Missolongi, and Lepanto. They were all placed under the direction of the Consul-general Pouqueville, who came to inspect them. He found them engaged with the Russians, who occupied Saint Maure. He first inspected the redoubt just constructed by the French upon the height of Peratia, opposite the forts Alexander and Constantine, which are erected upon small isles adjoining Leucada. He there found his brave countrymen constructing flat boats for a descent, which every one would willingly have been excused from making. Forges were erected, and a bridge had been thrown across the rivulet of Peratia, in order to facilitate the communications with the battery of Teket, from which point it was proposed to cannonade the fortress of Saint Maure.

Colonel Nicole and Captain Poncet set the example of working to the soldiers and Grecian peasants placed under their orders; while the Albanian Turks, secure in their intrenchments from the Russian fire, insulted their new allies. The Consul-general had an opportunity of convincing himself that all attempt at military amalgamation with the Turks was utterly impracticable; they only see enemies in the Christians. The object which principally engaged the French was to effect a diversion by drawing the attention of the Russians towards Leucada, and thus prevent them from carrying reinforcements to the mouths of the Cattaro. Ali, on the contrary, was anxious to avail himself of the military power of France, to get possession of the Seven Isles, or at least of Saint Maure. This desire of gaining the Ionian Isles displayed the politician: Pyrrhus, and every king of Epirus who had understood his own interests, had expressed the same wish. For this national object he had combined the interest of his personal grandeur and family dignity; like so many other Pachas, his intention was not, as has been continually imputed to him, to render himself an independent sovereign, but to establish a large fief, an enterprise not altogether novel in the Ottoman empire. The Pachas of Mosoul, the great Turkish Beys of Asia Minor, the Mamelukes of Egypt, and several Agas of Macedonia and Albania, already were in hereditary possession

either of whole provinces, or of numerous districts. The Vizier of Janina cannot, therefore, be justly taxed with being actuated by a rebellious spirit. So far from it, that in all his relations with the French government, he was careful to preserve the interests of the Turkish empire. In fact, the successive acquisition of all the small maritime cantons of Epirus was a work of enlightened policy, and one which was highly advantageous to the interest of Turkey in general. We should be guilty of historical partiality, were we to view only the evils which these small Christian provinces have suffered. Ali, as a Musulman, and as a Vizier of the Ottoman Porte, could not be expected to be either the protector of the Christian religion, or the promoter of European civilization. Why then should not allowances be made in his favour for the principles in which he was brought up, and the views with which his relative duties towards his country and his sovereign naturally inspired him ?

Animated by other passions, and actuated by far different motives, the officers and agents of the French government could not consider him in this point of view. It was easily to be seen, therefore, that no great length of time would elapse before the Vizier would be regarded as a faithless tyrant, ready to sacrifice every thing to gratify his own cupidity and ambition. Already Vaudoncourt, the colonel of engineers, complain-

ed that all his plans were counteracted by the Vizier's insatiable avarice. But as he had it in his instructions to keep the Russians in check, he submitted to all the caprices of Ali, not, however, without complaining very bitterly of him in his official correspondence, and describing him in the blackest colours. In a despatch addressed to Marshal Marmont, who commanded in Dalmatia, this officer represented the Vizier of Janina as a man who had made himself independent by a series of the most enormous crimes; as having acquired by a practice of more than forty years, the most impenetrable dissimulation; as having made falsehood his prevailing characteristic; as never suffering his hard and callous soul to betray by the least exterior agitation the passions which troubled it; in short, as being accustomed to sacrifice the agents whom he employed in the commission of crimes which he himself would not avow; and as covering all his plans with a thick and bloody veil. He added, that during the first day of his residence at Janina, he had suffered himself to be deceived by the apparent sincerity of the Vizier, by his mild and open manners; but that he soon learnt to estimate his character and designs, by the efforts which Ali made to mislead him respecting military affairs, by the striking opposition between his professions and his actions, by the fear which he constantly manifested lest the French Emperor

should insist upon the restoration of the Ex-Venetian towns; by the merit which he attributed to himself in constructing a fortress at Preveza; by the vacillation of his projects with respect to Parga and Saint Maure — all which evidently proved that his interests and plans were totally distinct from those of his allies; *his* being concentrated in the desire of making himself master of the Seven Isles at the close of the war.

It has already been seen that this was the sole object of Ali's policy. He used every artifice to discover if Colonel Vaudoncourt had any secret instructions upon this subject, by expatiating upon his own services, and the great advantages of his co-operation, and discussing his pretended claim upon these Islands, which he affected to consider as forming an integral part of the territory of Epirus. He openly declared that he expected from France some reward for his zeal in her service, endeavouring even to obtain the promise of indemnities in case the cession of any place should be required of him. Colonel Vaudoncourt did not think it prudent to destroy his hopes altogether, for fear of detaching him from Bonaparte's interests; but it was very perceptible that the good understanding between Ali Pacha and the French Emperor was destined to be of short duration.

Russia, who in the mean time had observed the alarm of England at the colossal power of

Bonaparte, at length succeeded in concluding with that country an offensive and defensive alliance, by favour of which she hoped to effect her ambitious schemes upon European Turkey. Having afterwards forced the Ottoman Porte to a rupture, she took military possession of the two important provinces of Moldavia and Valachia. Thus the very existence of the Turkish empire in Europe was menaced by the union of the courts of St. James's and St. Petersburg: this commencement of a crisis produced a revolution at Constantinople. The weak Selim, who had reigned as Sultan since 1790, was deposed by the Janizaries, and confined in the seraglio. Selim's nephew was raised to the Ottoman throne under the title of Selim IV. At this conjuncture, an English fleet sailed against the Dardanelles, and the Russian armies were prepared to dart upon their prey. Never had the Crescent been in such imminent danger: its only ally now was France; and she was incapable of affording direct and efficacious assistance. Ali Pacha was anxiously observing these different events.

Encamped before Saint Maure, where he had collected about ten thousand men, he was forming plans of aggrandizement, when he received the intelligence that an armistice had just been concluded upon the borders of the Niemen, between Russia and France. As his allies the French immediately desisted from all active ope-

rations, he found himself, as it were, thrown upon his own resources. He affected considerable surprise at what he styled a base desertion, testified much ill-humour, and began to spread extraordinary reports which carried terror throughout all Albania. Now that peace was the order of the day, Ali spoke only of war. He sent emissaries to London, Malta, and Sicily, and even despatched an envoy to Tilsit, in the hope of obtaining by negotiation the Ionian Isles, the constant objects of his wishes, but which he could now no longer expect to gain by open force. This envoy was an Italian named Gueri, formerly a monk and chief inquisitor at Malta, which place he left to accompany the French army to Egypt as interpreter. Having returned to Europe after the battle of the Nile, he was taken by a Turkish corsair, and carried to Janina. There, embracing the Mahometan faith, under the name of Mehemet, he had married a young and beautiful Turk; and aspiring to the favour of Ali Pacha, had so insinuated himself into his good graces, that Ali had named him his plenipotentiary at Tilsit, to negotiate the important business of the possession of the Seven Isles.

In the midst of these political intrigues and fresh negotiations, Ali determined upon making a progress through his Pachaship; and in some of his excursions was attended by the Consul-General of France, whose experience, abilities, and

merit he well knew how to appreciate. Some sulphur-mines had recently been found in Mount Chamouri, and Ali, who was much interested in the discovery, engaged the Consul to accompany him in a journey he proposed taking to visit them *. He at first directed his course towards Dgerovina, a village enclosed on all sides by mountains covered with ancient oaks. At this place there is a lake, of which many wonders are related; such as, that it has no bottom, that it absorbs whatever is thrown into it, &c. M. Pouqueville was not long before he found out the composition of fables invented by the Greeks. The Vizier informed him that he had formerly passed over this same lake in a boat, which completely falsified the story of its pretended quality of absorption: "unless," said Ali, smiling upon those who heard him, "we except *stones*." He afterwards told us, that having caused the depth of the lake to be ascertained, the line had reported thirty fathoms at the borders, then forty, and in the middle from one hundred to a hundred and twenty. He could not help laughing when the French Consul informed him, that one of the professors of his college at Janina asserted, that the lake ran underground, and that it formed the Vistritza. "These people," replied he, "never see things like others. Yet he has been here

* Voyage dans la Grèce, already quoted.

for some time; but, like his brethren, he prefers adhering to old traditions rather than give himself the trouble of investigating facts. I know some (looking at his Kiaya, or lieutenant-general) who have a great talent for this ingenious art of story-making:—what is your opinion, wise one?” The Kiaya, quite disconcerted, could not answer a word. “That man,” continued Ali, “is one of those who see in the dark. Would you believe it? he pretends that the plague is composed of a vast number of minute animalculæ, which would be visible through a magnifying glass, if one could be procured of sufficient power.” And after having thus amused himself at his general’s expense, “You shall dine with us to-day,” said he to him. “Consul, let us have some of the best wine. You have no objection to a glass, have you?” The Kiaya excused himself. “But you were not so conscientious a short time since. Well, since you intend a reformation, go and dine in the kitchen.” “But, my Lord, the law of the Prophet!”—“Silence! *I* am a Prophet in my own country; and if I had a mind,” added he with a malicious smile, “I could make you own it too.” At these words the Kiaya retired to take his repast in another apartment.

His splendid retinue of servants and pages having arranged the repast upon a magnificent sideboard of silver gilt, the guests were first presented with some meats served up in beauti-

ful porcelain from Sevres, ornamented with designs from the French school. According to the Vizier's custom, an entire lamb was placed before him, weighing about twelve pounds, of which he devoured more than half, besides several cloves of garlick, hard eggs, an eel, and many other dishes: contenting himself afterwards with touching a great many others with his finger, to shew that he liked them, and that they might be cleared away. Pilow, or boiled rice, the usual dessert of the Turks, and over which they pour curdled cream, being now served up, the Vizier, dipping in his spoon, discovered two or three small feathers: he immediately judged that his pilow had been boiled in the water in which the under-cooks steep the poultry previously to plucking it. "At that instant," says M. Pouqueville, "I saw the satrap turn pale, and immediately symptoms of alarm and terror seized his attendants. 'What is this?—ah!' His voice was completely altered, when, his eyes accidentally meeting mine, not being able (I know not why) to continue his invective, he suddenly burst into a loud fit of laughter. 'You see, my son, how I am served. Some day or other I shall certainly hang up a few of them.' 'That will not improve their cookery.' 'Oh, indeed it will—If you knew how essential it is to good order!' 'For this once I hope you will pardon them.' 'Yes, but they must eat the pilow, boiled in the dish-water, with all the feathers in

it.' (And this sentence was executed to the very letter.) 'But for you,' said he, 'their heads should be in my court-yard.' At this time there were about half a dozen exhibited there previously to being sent to Constantinople."

As a parallel passage, we may, perhaps, be allowed to quote the following from Dr. Holland's interesting work: "In his habits at table Ali Pacha is temperate, though by no means so strict a Musulman as to refuse himself wine. He almost always eats alone, according to the custom of Turks of high rank. His dinner usually consists of twelve or sixteen covers, which are separately placed on a tray before him. The dishes are chiefly those of Turkish cookery; in addition to which, a whole lamb, provided by his shepherds, is served up at his table every day in the year. His appetite is not at all fastidious; and I have been told, that his cooks, in providing for him, take liberties which, under a luxurious despot, would infallibly cost them their heads."

The sulphur-mine, the object of the journey, and upon which so many grand projects and speculations had been raised, was found near the surface of the earth. Experiments were made, furnaces erected, and orders were already given for the erection of manufactories, when the stupidity of an Italian, who was appointed superintendent of the works, happily disgusted the Vizier with a scheme which he renounced with as much indif-

ference as he had manifested eagerness to undertake it.

He retook the road to Janina, along the chain of Mount Chamouri, in the upper valley of the Thyanus, and arriving at an *ambari*, or store for corn, he there rested. The inhabitants of the village, the near neighbours of Coucoulios, came to present his highness with a cup of milk and a few handfuls of meal, in token of the prosperity and abundance which spring under the footstep of a powerful man. "May you enjoy a long happy life!" said they to him: "may your years be many! for us, it is indifferent whether you hang or drown us, unless you diminish the taxes which overwhelm us." The Pacha, without appearing to understand them, invited the consul to sit by him on some bags of corn, covered with a carpet; he made a sign to the peasants to retire, telling them, to go in peace; to pray God for him; and assuring them, that if Providence preserved his life, they should want for nothing. At length, he concluded his harangue by his paternal phrase, of "*que je sois bien mci, mes enfans,*" while the petitioners, who well understood the refusal implied in this formula, had already passed the door, when he ordered them to be called back. It was thought that he had changed his resolves, in favour of these unfortunates, when he said to them, *that he held them near his heart!* But, after a moment's

silence,—“As a proof of which, at your own expense, you shall build me a residence contiguous to this storehouse; let it be done in six months without fail, or vengeance on your heads!” “Write,” said he to one of his secretaries, to whom he dictated the plan, the dimensions, &c.; adding, in the midst of loud bursts of laughter, “It is a most charming spot; I shall often have hunting-parties here; I must have some place to alight at.”

At this decision, by which a whole village was ruined, the French Consul also burst into a laugh. “This is your way,” said the Vizier to him:—“now these rascally peasants have drained me dry; they owe me an immensity of money, interest accumulated upon interest; besides, they were the enemies of my father.” As the poor wretches whom he thus accused were probably not born during the lifetime of Ali Pacha’s father, the Consul, recollecting the fable of the wolf and the lamb, was about to relate it to him, when one of the Vizier’s counsellors made him a sign not to plead the cause of the inhabitants of Coucoulios.

As in his other journeys, the Vizier held his assizes wherever he happened to be, sometimes in a palace, at others by the side of a ditch. The monks belonging to the Monastery of Sosino having been summoned before him, they were required to give an account of the tithes belonging to the feudality; fortunately they produced

receipts sealed with his Highness's signet, who, out of his special favour, condemned them (under pretext of not liking them) to cut, and transport in carts to Janina every year, eight thousand logs of fuel-wood. At length a *Papa* was introduced, accused by the inhabitants of Grebigno with having caused the conflagration of a tower, the care of which had been entrusted to him as Dewengi. The peasants, moreover, declared him to be a drunkard, and of a most implacable temper. The only answer returned by the Vizier was, that he wished to have his tower in the same state as when he had appointed Bealouk-Bachi the commander of it! To which the *Papa* coolly replied, that he could not have it—"though you were to hang me for it, which, however, will not be the case." "Well," said the Vizier, "this is candid." "First, let my lord know, that my whole property consists in my wife, who is now old, and in fourteen goats, which she leads to feed in the mountains. If these were all sold, they would not produce sufficient to construct even the door of the tower: my enemies know it; but your Highness is apparently ignorant that these men, so zealous in your service, have owed you for ten years the tithes upon wine: they who tax me with drunkenness, force the poor to furnish them with wine, and then drink it." "This is always the way I am served," said the Vizier sighing; "and yet people wonder that I am poor!—And that makes

every year?"—"More than ten thousand oques of wine; without reckoning the brandy which they distil." "Yes, wine and brandy! I have no person about me at all interested in my concerns: this is the way I am ruined—And that makes?"—"More than four thousand piastres a-year, my lord, at least." "Let us see, fifty thousand piastres, and as much for interest; for they have, no doubt, robbed me other ways! My son, I appoint thee Codja Bachi, (or Primate,) in the place of thy accusers, who shall be sent to prison till they have paid what they owe me; the village must rebuild the tower at its own expense; and as for thee, be a faithful servant!" Other causes were being called on, when the French Consul retired. Upon going to the Monastery of Jacovo, he saw the retinue of Mouctar Pacha, which, with his falconers and carriages, was proceeding towards Calibaki, whence he purposed returning to Janina by the chain of Mitchikeli, to enjoy the pleasures of the chase.

Upon entering the convent, the Consul found there the Vizier's Kiaya and his Divan Effendi, or chief secretary. Dr. Louis Franck, at that time physician to Ali Pacha, joined them at supper-time, during which repast the Kiaya made a great parade of his learning, by extravagant tales and dissertations upon judicial astrology—reveries which, according to M. Pouqueville, are very prevalent among the Turks. The next morning,

while it was scarcely day, they were informed by a courier that the Vizier expected them at the khan of Mazaraki; to which place he had repaired before sunrise. They immediately quitted Jacovo, and on keeping the right bank of the Thyamis, they perceived the ruins of Velas, the ancient Photice, the antiquity of which must be very great, since statues and architectural remains have been found there, which prove that it was a flourishing city during the time of the Hellenes. The Vizier informed the French Consul that he had himself seen dug up the head of a human figure, of colossal proportions, and as big as a buffalo's: this was his expression.

After a short halt at the khan of Mazaraki, where the Vizier had ordered breakfast, he gave the signal for departure, and for this once took his leave without making any exactions: the inhabitants of Pagouna, informed of his approach, had fled into the mountains.

In returning from the cascade of Glizani towards Dridza, the French Consul saved the lives of two foreigners, whom a horde of furious barbarians was dragging before the Vizier. Hearing that they were Franks, he made his way through the crowd on horseback, and perceived two men bound together and almost naked, who, on seeing him approach, cried out that they were Englishmen. The Consul made them a sign to remain quiet, and, running to the Pacha, was the

first to inform him of what was passing. They were two sailors, who had been shipwrecked on the coasts of Acroceraunia, where they had been pillaged by the Chimariotes; and, although the Porte was then at war with England, the Consul interested himself so warmly in their behalf, that the Vizier delivered them up to him.

“Whenever,” observes M. Pouqueville*, “I have followed any of the roads previously travelled by Ali Pacha, I have never failed to observe some ditch recently filled up, or wretches hanging on the trees. His footsteps were everywhere imprinted in blood; and it was upon these occasions that, to display the extent of his power, he ordered executions as terrible as they were unexpected.”

Ali's government was not only harsh and oppressive in general, but also peculiarly distinguished by cruelties exercised on rich and powerful persons, with the view of seizing on their wealth and authority, so that his rule might justly be called tyrannical. On the other hand, it seemed moderate and mild, when we consider the security which the mass of the people enjoyed; the religious toleration shewn to the Greeks, and the use which he made of the services of the latter. The contradiction, however, was only apparent, and a natural consequence of his situation and of his political system. The

* Voyage dans la Grèce, already quoted.

different parts of his dominions did not form a coherent whole; but his object was directed to obtain this coherence, by the conviction that all must be united round his own person as a centre; and that therefore every thing must be subdued which could offer resistance. At least he himself declared this to be his fundamental principle of action.

His administration, however, has found apologists; as a proof of which, the French Consul quotes the opinion of an Albanian philosopher, one who was well acquainted with France, had resided in Paris, and had frequented the society of the literati, the contemporaries with Voltaire.

He thus expresses himself: "I was born at Premiti, and am an undeniable proof that a wise and prudent man can be happy everywhere. I have seen Versailles and the King of France: I have witnessed the most refined civilization: I have resided among the most polished nation in the world; and yet I sighed to re-visit my native land. For fifteen years I have served Ali Pacha as his interpreter, without experiencing at his hands either ingratitude or great favour. His government, which to you may perhaps appear severe, is the best calculated for the subjects whom he commands: his extortions and his cruelties are suited to the ferocious character of the Albanians: a nation of brigands must have a tyrant for their ruler. My language may, per-

haps, astonish you; but only ten years ago you would have been assassinated, or sold as a slave, by the very people who now surround you, and from whom you receive the attentions of hospitality.”

The whole of Ali's tyrannical system presented striking contradictions. For instance, his religious toleration was in some respects partial: he seemed to grant a special protection to those whom his religion reprobated. Under this point of view, a Christian in criminal cases was always more favoured than a Musulman. Hence, perhaps, the protection which he afforded to public instruction in favour of the Christians, even in the interior of his seraglio. As a consequence of this system, Ali permitted his wives the most entire freedom in cases of religion; and upon the death of Emineh, the beloved wife of his heart, he had even chosen a Christian as her successor — Reine Vasiliki de Paramithia, a model of virtue and piety. Her elevation was one of those prodigies so often occurring in absolute governments. Ali in 1800 had prosecuted her father for coining; and the whole family being seized, Ali accidentally saw Reine, then quite young. He ordered her to be brought up in his harem. The graces of her form, which was of surprising beauty, having now attained perfection, Ali married her, and thus raised her from the condition of a poor peasant to be wife to the sovereign of Epirus, without

even requiring her to abjure the rites of baptism which she had received at her birth. "If I renounced my God," said she to him, "if I abjured the Holy Virgin, the protector of my infancy, how could you confide in the attachment of a woman who sacrificed the riches of immortality for the perishing honours of this life?" Far from offending Ali, this generous resolution increased his affection for his young wife; and he not only permitted, but insisted, that an oratory adorned with images should be erected in his palace, before which she might burn incense to the true God.

Ali impatiently awaited the return of the plenipotentiary whom he had despatched to Tilsit: he at length came back, but unsuccessful, having failed in the object of his mission. The Ionian Isles were ceded to France. The cession being effected, Bonaparte despatched Cesar Berthier to Corfu, in the capacity of Governor-General. He was instructed to conciliate Ali, and even to favour him, when not incompatible with the interests of France. Ali thought this was a favourable opportunity, at least, of gaining possession of Parga; and with this view he sent his second minister of state, Sechri-Effendi, accompanied by the Professor Psalida, to Corfu. Sechri supported the claims and demands of the Vizier with such ability, that Cesar Berthier was on the point of complying with them; when a deputation of the Parganiotes which arrived in the interval,

for the purpose of opposing the intrigues of Ali, expatiated so forcibly upon the attachment of the Albanian Greeks to the Ionian Government, and expressed so strongly their determination to maintain their independence to the last drop of their blood against the claims of their most implacable foe, that the Governor no longer hesitated to plead their cause. He easily obtained that Parga and its territory should be definitively annexed to the Ionian Government, and placed under the protection of France.

Seeing his envoys return again unsuccessful, Ali conceived the deepest feelings of hate for his allies. He, however, did not consider it politic to come to an immediate rupture with France, although it was apparent he could not long remain the friend of a power who was in possession of the Ionian Isles. He availed himself of Corfu having been strictly blockaded by a British squadron, to declare his resentment. The French authorities being greatly distressed for money, and the pay of the troops being suspended, a deputation was despatched to the Vizier to solicit a loan. Ali haughtily refused, saying, that the Pacha of Janina was neither a merchant nor a banker; and at the same time he imposed enormous duties upon the exportation of corn and cattle from Albania, and required prompt payment. By way of retaliation, Cesar Berthier announced his intention of recovering

the Venetian towns, and first of all Butrinto, which being situated immediately opposite to Corfu, near the narrowest part of the strait, is called the Key to that island; as Corfu is designated the Key to the Adriatic. Perhaps, had he acted with promptitude, five hundred men would have insured him Butrinto; but he afforded the Vizier time to throw in a strong garrison of Albanians, and the opportunity was lost. Ali, from his camp at Playa, bade open defiance to all his efforts. Fearing, however, a *coup-de-main* against Preveza, he repaired thither with a part of his army, after having abandoned the lines which, in concert with the French, he had established opposite to Saint Maure. Then inclining towards England, whose great naval superiority, he foresaw, might either effectually oppose or second his plans, he testified much anxiety to enter into a conference with an English agent (perhaps Major Leake) sent to him for that purpose. Desirous, however, of avoiding an open rupture with Bonaparte, he took the greatest precautions to prevent the French Consul from having any suspicion of his intentions. He redoubled his respect for him, and invited him to accompany him in a journey towards the Gulf of Arta, during which he shewed him the most marked attentions.

One day in particular, (it was in the month of October 1808,) he had halted on the banks of

the Arethon, near Ambracia ; the Consul and his brother* were sitting by his side, while the pages had formed a half circle at some distance from him. “ You see those young people,” said the Vizier to M. Pouqueville;—“ well, there is not one of them who is not indebted to me for the death of a father, brother, uncle, or some relation.” “ And yet,” rejoined the Consul, “ they wait upon you and pass the night by your bedside, without ever thinking of avenging their parents.”—“ Avenge their parents ! They have but me in the world. The passive instruments of my will, I have compromised them all, and, in proportion to their degradation, the greater is their fidelity. The Albanians regard me as an extraordinary being ; but all my magic consists in gold, steel, and the club. Thus I sleep tranquilly. But your conscience”—Here he burst into a loud laugh, telling the Consul that he was a *bon homme*. A small boat was waiting for him, to which having been carried by his pages, they sailed for the Ambracian Gulf. The very day even which he had chosen for his secret conference with the English emissary, he invited the Consul to a *fête champêtre* near Vonitza. In the midst of the amusements he left him, and, entering a swift-sailing cutter, crossed to the opposite side of the Gulf: here a horse was in readiness, which he immediately mounted, and crossing the plain at full gallop,

* Vice-Consul of Artá.

proceeded towards the place of rendezvous. About midnight he met the English agent, who had landed near Preveza, and had an interview with him among the ruins of Nicopolis. There they concerted together their plan of operations, and then separated before the dawn.

Ali used much mystery, and at the same time great activity, in keeping up a constant communication with the English admirals commanding in the Mediterranean. His purpose was to bring about a peace between Turkey and Great Britain. But one revolution succeeded another at Constantinople. Mustapha Bairactar, the avenger of Selim, after having deposed the Sultan Mustapha, and proclaimed his eldest brother, endeavoured to disband the Janizaries, and to introduce European customs in all branches of the government : he failed in this perilous enterprise, and perished in a fresh revolt of the Janizaries. The death of this Grand Vizier created at first a general confusion. The English Ambassador, Mr. Adair, who, having arrived at the Dardanelles, had opened a communication with the Turkish Divan, despairing of success, was on the eve of his departure, when he received a letter from Ali Pacha, earnestly entreating him to await the event. The advice of Ali Pacha was followed, the English well knowing his great influence in the Divan: he was even suspected of having contributed to foment this last re-

volt, as he had done that of Nizam-Djedid, under the reign of Selim; nor is this improbable, for every Pacha, who aspires to an independent sovereignty, will always prefer the old Turkish system to European innovations. As Ali had desired, peace was soon concluded between England and Turkey. As soon as the preliminaries were signed, Ali hastened to despatch an envoy to London, named Seid-Achmed-Effendi, in order to enhance the services he had rendered to the British Cabinet. So much importance was attached to them, that a transport-vessel was immediately ordered to sail for the coast of Epirus, having on board a fine park of artillery and several hundred of Congreve rockets, a recent invention. Major Leake, who had the command of the artillery, was ordered to remain at the court of Ali Pacha, to instruct his Albanian troops in the use and practice of artillery, and also to fill the duties of English Resident. Ali, now openly espousing the interests of England, opened his ports to her cruizers and merchant-vessels, and supplied provisions and stores on the most advantageous terms, both for the English fleets and the allied armies of Spain and Portugal. He had not much to fear from Bonaparte, who was then too much occupied in the Peninsular War,—independent of which he had no naval force that could at all cope with the British. In fact, the blockade of Corfu by the

English squadron prevented the Russians from affording any assistance to the enemies of the Vizier.

Ali, having thus become still more formidable, and being persuaded that a secret intelligence existed between the Pacha of Berat and the Island of Corfu, and that a confederacy was forming against him in Higher Albania, resolved to effect the complete ruin of Ibrahim. He caused it to be reported at Constantinople that the Pacha of Berat had actually been bought over by the French, to whom he was about to deliver up his territory. It is even said, that, to substantiate these reports, Ali had forged various instruments, and had collected false witnesses. But Ibrahim was as much esteemed at Constantinople, where he had numerous friends, as in his own domains; Ali's artifices consequently succeeded but ill with the young Sultan; he was therefore obliged to dissemble, and to await a more favourable juncture. This presented itself towards the close of 1809, when an event already foreseen by him took place, which imparted fresh vigour to his hopes and renewed energy to his measures. The English, having expelled the French, took possession of the Islands of Zante, Cephalonia, Ithaca, and Cerigo: this was the signal for Ali's again attempting the destruction of Ibrahim. He first caused him to be attacked and harassed by Omer Bey Brioni, whom Ibrahim had formerly

banished, after confiscating his property. During his stay in Egypt, this turbulent man had signaled himself against the English, and had since returned into Epirus possessed of an immense fortune and with a great reputation for valour. Ali, in concert with the Beys of Avlona, induced him to take the field against Ibrahim, under pretence of recovering his possessions. Omer Bey, instead of appearing in arms at the head of a few partizans, marched against Berat with a corps of eight thousand men, followed by a field and battering-train, with artillerymen and pioneers. Ali repaired at first to Tepelini, there to await the issue. The result was not doubtful; for Ibrahim, whose finances were quite exhausted, had only time to retreat into his Castle with a few faithful followers. Ali now left Tepelini, and repaired, in quality of mediator, to the camp of Omer Brioni, bringing with him a considerable reinforcement, for the purpose, as he said, of making his mediation respected. Ibrahim not daring to trust himself in the power of his enemy, the Vizier immediately began an attack upon the Castle of Berat, which, standing upon a lofty mountain on the right bank of the Apsus, was deemed impregnable. Ali, however, pressed the siege with great vigour, bombarding the town and fortress from the neighbouring heights, and throwing Congreve rockets, under the direction of an English engineer officer. These new in-

truments of destruction spread such terror amongst the garrison and the inhabitants, that Ibrahim Pacha found himself compelled to capitulate upon the conditions of ceding Berat and giving up his only son as an hostage. He was then permitted to retire to Avlona with his suite and treasures. Ali, seated in his calash, and surrounded by his troops, waited on the left bank of the Apsus till Ibrahim had passed the bridge, after which he entered Berat in triumph, while Omer Bey with a corps of cavalry covered the retreat of the fallen Ibrahim, as far as the gates of Avlona.

Ali had taken possession of Berat, not only without the consent, but even without the knowledge of the Porte. In his despatch, therefore, to the Sultan, he endeavoured to colour this aggression by alleging that a great part of Higher Albania had risen in revolt, and that Ibrahim, incapable both by his age and infirmities of suppressing the insurrection, was also strongly suspected of having been first attached to Russian and afterwards to French interests; that, urged by these motives, he had not hesitated to provide for the safety of so important a place, by the introduction of troops upon whom he could rely. Ali strengthened these representations by magnificent presents, and immense sums which he distributed among the members of the Divan: they were not ineffectual; his conduct received the

approbation of his sovereign, who, at his request, immediately conferred upon his son Mouctar the government of Berat, or, in other words, enriched him with the spoils of his father-in-law.

As we have not yet had an opportunity of sketching the character of Mouctar, Ali's eldest son, we shall here insert the following ably-drawn portrait.

“Ali's eldest son, Mouctar, possesses personal courage, probity, and generosity; he is a friend to the arts and sciences; his attachment to Phrosina has given to his disposition mildness and polish. War, however, is his favourite pursuit; and, when he cannot follow it, the chase serves him for his recreation. He is plain in his dress, temperate, bold, and unsuspecting; he wanders through the mountains on foot, is contented with bread and water, if necessary, and with the hardest couch. In camp he fares like a common soldier, and sleeps upon the ground, wrapped in a coarse Albanian cloak. As it is known that he punctually fulfils his engagements, every body is ready, all over his father's dominions, to meet his wishes. Whatever is lent to him, he always repays at the time stipulated; he often adds presents, and in all cases obliging expressions of acknowledgment. Fourteen days before he was forced to depart for Lepanto, he caused it to be proclaimed by sound of trumpet, that whoever had any claims upon him should

apply for payment. He accordingly paid them all ; and meeting, in the streets, one of his creditors, who was just returned from a journey, he made his train halt, in order to pay him likewise. The strictness and integrity of his principles cause a certain coolness between Mouctar and his father, to whom he, however, always behaves with becoming respect: the same principles make him despise his brother, whom he considers as an extravagant and dishonourable man. Ali, on his side, has no attachment to Mouctar, whom he rather fears. The Greeks love and esteem him, and the reverence of the Albanians for him knows no bounds."

Ali, after his victory, conducted himself with the greatest moderation toward his new subjects, and his object in this was to prevent their having any wish to rally around the standard of their ancient chief. He entrusted the government of the country to his faithful general Jousouf, the Arab ; and returned to his capital for the purpose of endeavouring to derive some advantages from the successes of the English in the Ionian Seas. This, he thought, he could not do more effectually than by encamping again before Saint Maure with a powerful and well-disciplined army, and by taking a part in the operations of the siege. Placed thus between two rival powers, he saw his friendship courted by the one, and his enmity dreaded by the other. Ali, who knew how to

profit by such a combination of circumstances, encouraged the English to persevere in the blockade of Corfu, promising them his co-operation; and at the same time speculated upon the distress which reigned in that island, by secretly furnishing it with provisions, which he sold at an immense profit. That he might the more effectually deceive the French Consul, as well as General Donzelot, the Governor of Corfu, he assisted the former in introducing into that island, Beaudrand, a colonel of engineers, who was the bearer of some important communications. At the same time he invited the English General, Oswald, and Mr. Foresti, the British Minister, to supper with him, and reiterated to them his protestations of inviolable attachment. By these means he expected to obtain the confidence of the French authorities; and he even offered M. Pouqueville to take military possession of Corfu, and make common cause with the French, if he would induce General Donzelot to evacuate the fortress. The very idea of a perfidy which would have placed a Christian population at the mercy of such a man, was sufficient to cause the proposal to be rejected. Although the Consul had discretionary powers; he preferred leaving events to their natural course. Saint Maure capitulated, and General Oswald, after having taken possession of it in the name of his Britannic Majesty, came to receive the congratulations of the Vizier,

and to thank him for having contributed to the success of his enterprise. Ali vainly insisted upon the recognition of his claims to the island : he met with better success in obtaining permission from the English commander to build on the opposite coast two barracks for his soldiers. This was only a pretext in order to construct two very strong fortresses, one of which commanded the entrance even to the Citadel of Saint Maure, and the other the mouth of the strait which separates that island from the continent. Under the politic government of the Venetians it had been stipulated, that neither the Venetians nor the Ottoman Porte should erect fortresses within a mile of the coast.

The Isle of Saint Maure had acquired a much greater importance, since Preveza, and the other Venetian towns on the Albanian coast, had fallen into Ali's possession. Disappointed at not having been able to make himself master of it, and irritated at its affording an asylum to the victims of his tyranny ; a short time after it was taken by the British, having captured three vessels belonging to Ithaca and Cephalonia, he hung up all the crew in front of the town, pretending that they were pirates. Subsequently to this, a Greek, who had fled thither from the continent to avoid Ali's resentment, was assassinated in open day, in the public square of Saint Maure, by two of his emissaries. Upon being arrested, they de-

clared their mission, and appeared unconscious of having committed any crime. They were both tried by a military commission, and condemned, one to perpetual confinement, the other to imprisonment for ten years. As soon as Ali was informed of their detention, he had the effrontery to demand their being set at liberty. The English Authorities returned him the following answer, which must have embarrassed him not a little. "That the criminals had not only been condemned for a crime abominable in itself; but that they had also had the audacity to calumniate his Highness, by declaring the deed to have been committed by his orders." Ali abandoned the criminals to their fate.

Although he could neither obtain from his English allies the possession of Saint Maure, nor the expulsion of the French from Parga, he notwithstanding considered it his interest not to evince any signs of discontent; for the support of the naval forces of England, and British influence at Constantinople, were alike indispensable to his plans. Besides, he had yet the Kimariotes to subdue, who inhabited the mountains of Kimeria, or Chimera: a warlike tribe, descended from the ancient Chaonians. Their locality between the maritime coast and the interior of Epirus was a subject of alarm to Ali. Being attacked in their mountains, they defended themselves valiantly, and, after having expended their

ammunition, fought hand to hand. Ali had recourse to his old system of corruption: having, by the treachery of four brothers named Cosnezzi, got possession of Vouna, their chief village, he attacked their rear-guard in the mountains, and cut it to pieces. The whole country immediately submitted to his authority. After placing garrisons in the different fortresses, he returned to Janina, followed by two hundred of the principal Kimariotes, as hostages. The tribes, which, under the protection of the ruling powers of the Ionian Isles, had hitherto resisted his sway, now submitted to him unconditionally, to prevent their being exterminated by his victorious arms. Pronio, Aga of Paramithia, and Hassan, Zapor of Margariti, were two of the chiefs who threw themselves upon his clemency: they were both cast into a dungeon at Janina, two days after their surrender.

During these operations, which took place during the spring of 1810, the Britannic Government sent Mr. George Foresti to the Vizier, in quality of English Resident at Janina. This was a delicate post, and might even have proved a dangerous one, had not Ali been more and more convinced of the necessity of being upon a friendly footing with England. A short time afterwards his court was visited by most English travellers, illustrious either by their rank or talents. Amongst others, Lieutenant-general Stuart,

the conqueror of Maida; Major-general Airey, and Sir Hudson Lowe. To these succeeded an immense number whose curiosity had been excited by the great celebrity of Ali Pacha.

Placed in the midst of the French possessions in the Ionian seas, Ali was the more courted by the English, as they for a long time hoped that the natural turbulence of his disposition would occasion a rupture between France and Turkey. Janina, therefore, became the nucleus of intrigues against Bonaparte; nothing was there talked of but war, and a Mahometan confederacy, of which Ali was to be the leader.

It is highly improbable that Ali's prudence would ever have permitted him to indulge in such Quixotic plans. Although the influence of the French cabinet had declined at Constantinople, it was not altogether powerless. Complaints on the part of France against the Pacha of Epirus being again laid before the Divan, he was this time unsuccessful in parrying the blow; and his destruction was determined upon at Corfu, Ragusa, Constantinople, and Paris. The year 1810 witnessed, perhaps, the heaviest storm yet raised against him. It was no less than a plan of operations, concerted by the French generals, and sanctioned by the Porte:—Ali was to have been attacked simultaneously by a part of the French troops from Corfu, and by the army of Dalmatia under the orders of Marshal Marmont, whilst his

enemies in the interior, running to arms, were to rise *en masse* against his tyranny.

But Massena's retreat from Portugal, and the reverses which marked the close of the campaign in the Peninsula, determined Bonaparte to order thither the troops of Marshal Marmont. Ali's ruin was perhaps averted by this resolution of Bonaparte, who did not, however, utterly abandon the intention of chastising Ali, which he would have attempted, even with the troops left in Corfu, had not the English squadron rendered it impracticable.

Ali knew his danger by the conduct of the Porte towards him. Aware that he was too firmly established in Epirus to be attacked by open force, and at the same time unwilling to give umbrage to England, who had declared in his favour, the Turkish government avenged itself upon his son Veli Pacha, by depriving him of the Pachaship of the Morea. He, however, received as an indemnity the Viziership of Thessaly; but at the same time the Porte appointed a Roumelie-Valisy at Monastir. By these means the Grand Seignior detached Cisaxian-Macedonia from the dominions of Ali; and only deprived Veli of the Morea to invest him with authority in Thessaly, in order that the seeds of rivalship might be sown between the father and the son. This *coup de politique* seems to have been suggested by an acute insight into Veli Bey's character, which we shall

describe in the words of an author to whom we have already been indebted.

“Ali Pacha’s second son, Veli, in many respects resembles his father. Like him, he is covetous, ambitious, false, and distrustful. He is rapacious, and does not perform what he promises. He is often in want of money, but does not find people inclined to lend, as his brother does. He is a lover of magnificence and show; dress and furniture are important concerns with him; and his effeminate and dissolute way of life is very expensive. By his extravagance he has deeply involved himself in debt. Those who serve him are paid ill, or not at all. He shows a great propensity to European manners and customs, and the liberty that distinguishes them. He wishes very much to have a theatre: one day he asked the French Consul, showing him the finest mosque in Janina, whether it were large enough to be converted into a theatre in the Italian style? He had a very great desire to travel through Europe, partly in order to show himself at the different courts as a rich and powerful prince, and partly to make himself acquainted with European manners. He made a proposal to this effect to his father, and endeavoured to gain his assent to it upon political motives. But Ali Pacha, who knows his son to be a great prodigal, saw very well that the business might cost him some millions of piastres; and would not hear of it. Veli also pos-

sesses personal courage, by which he acquired distinction and reputation during the last war against Russia. He is jealous of his brother; and it is not probable, that when his father dies he will be disposed peaceably to acknowledge his right of primogeniture, and leave to him the government of Janina. Ali has indeed more regard for him than for Mouctar, yet still his distrust extends also to him."

The feeble Ibrahim Pacha, who, incessantly thirsting after vengeance, entered into all the leagues formed against Ali, and who recommenced continually the same desperate game though punished by repeated losses, had entered into the strictest alliance with the French authorities. He had subscribed with his own hand to the project for Ali's destruction, and now found himself alone exposed to the resentment and rage of a powerful and irritated foe. Ali, bringing his troops into the field, pressed him closely near Avlona, his last asylum; whilst the English Commodore Taylor, with two frigates, cut off the retreat of this unfortunate old man, who otherwise would have found refuge in Corfu. On the point of being forced into Avlona, Ibrahim abandoned the place of his retreat, and fled disguised into the mountains of Liapurja: here being betrayed, he and his wife were both delivered up by traitors to the satellites of Ali Pacha. He was at first exiled to Conitza, at which place he graced the

victor's triumph. After remaining here some months, Ali forced him from the arms of his wife; and thrust him into a dungeon which he had constructed under the grand staircase of Janina, as if to enjoy the satisfaction, every time he ascended his palace, of treading upon the head of his enemy. This venerable old man, the father-in-law of Ali's two sons, was thus exhibited to the vulgar gaze like a savage beast.

One vizier imprisoned by another was a thing unheard of in the annals of Turkish rebellions; and the Porte began to manifest its displeasure. But some rich presents sent to Constantinople, and the British interest, which was still favourable to the Pacha, averted the threatened storm. Ali remained in entire possession of Berat, and increased his power to such a height, that the Divan appeared to be stupified with the blow which had thus been given to the sovereign authority. It was the result of the struggles, intrigues, and crimes of thirty years—a result which produced the submission of the Pachas of Elbassan and Croïa, and of the Vaivodes of Taulantia, who all appeared as vassals at the Court of Janina. Not only subsidized Beys, but the Pachas of Higher Albania, and all the illustrious chiefs of continental Greece, hastened to prostrate themselves before the throne of Ali. Among this crowd of courtiers were the Beys of Avlona, who, having seconded his projects against Ibrahim, were admitted into

Ali's highest favour, and were continually near his person. When he had succeeded in uniting them all at his court, he suddenly precipitated them from the midst of fêtes and pleasures into gloomy dungeons; while in the mean time his emissaries had seized their wives and children, and transported them to Janina, with all their wealth. Such was the merited punishment of those who had betrayed a worthy and gracious master in favour of a tyrant! Their furniture, their treasures, their flocks, without reckoning the value of their land which Ali confiscated, enriched him with at least thirty thousand purses. Ali one day took the French Consul into an apartment of his palace full of gold specie lying in heaps: this, he told him, was produced from the spoils of the Beys of Avlona, and represented the amount as being above twelve millions.

“In addition to the vast sums which Ali has acquired by confiscating the property of those whom his ambition or cupidity prompts him to destroy, his revenues are also considerable, although they cannot be exactly estimated, as he observes no certain standard in the distribution and levying of the taxes. He regularly pays to the Turkish government its due proportion of the revenue; and the remainder, which often amounts to more than the half, is locked up in chests. To this must be added the produce of his own possessions, and of his flocks of sheep, of which animals he has about 50,000. To the regular reve-

nues are to be farther added the confiscations, extortions, and arbitrary fines. On an average his annual income may well be estimated at about 480,000*l.* sterling. Of the amount of his private treasure nothing certain is known; only that it consists of Venetian gold coin.

“He has got possession of all the precious stones which he could discover in the countries under his dominion. He possesses large collections of watches, valuable clocks, gold and silver vessels, and immense magazines of goods of every kind. All these stores are under his own care in subterraneous vaults, which are visited by nobody but himself. His treasurer for the current expenses, which office was filled in 1807 by his nephew, is nothing more than a paymaster, to whom he entrusts a chest of money, for the disbursement of which he must account before he receives the key of another. A Jew house-steward collects the revenues of his own private possessions.”

There now remained for him to subdue, Mustapha, Pacha of Delvino, the towns of Argyro-Castron and Gardiki, and lastly the allied chiefs of Liapuria. All were alarmed at the storm they saw gathering around them, and lost not a moment in assembling their forces. Ali began an immediate attack, and defeated them on the plain situated between Argyro-Castron and Delvino. He forthwith entered the latter town, took two of Mustapha's sons prisoners, and confined them in a convent of the island which is on the Lake of

Janina. Two other sons of Mustapha, having fled to Corfu, were soon after assassinated there by an emissary of the Vizier, in whose pocket the bouïourdi (or order) was found signed with Ali's own hand. Mustapha himself retreated to Gardiki; but he only deferred the fate which awaited him. After the conquest of Delvino, Ali attacked the large town of Argyro-Castron, hitherto deemed impregnable from its position and the valour of its inhabitants; but the new tactics of Ali, who had now abandoned the Albanian mode of warfare, spread amongst them the utmost terror and alarm. Supported by a numerous train of field and battering artillery, and howitzers, and well furnished with Congreve rockets from the arsenals of Malta and Mëssina, he was certain, even by the noise alone of these new instruments of destruction, to intimidate a people whose only method of fighting was that of the middle ages. Scarcely, therefore, had the Vizier's bombardment destroyed a few windmills, and cut off the water from Argyro-Castron, than the inhabitants offered to capitulate. Ali, who, like a sovereign, directed the operations of this war from his cabinet, no sooner learnt the reduction of Argyro-Castron, than he ordered his lieutenants to march against Gardiki. The whole population of this town was Musulman, and its mode of government in many respects republican: each family sent a deputy to the general council, from which thirteen members were annually chosen to conduct the execu-

tive department: they had the power of life and death. This town, situated upon a mountain of a conical form, was composed of strongly-built houses, the walls of which being embattled and furnished with loop-holes, and defended by courageous men, were as so many small fortresses, which it was necessary to besiege individually.

The Gardikiotes were aware that the least delay in the operations, or momentary failure in the attack, would be the signal for the revolt of all the villages of Acroceraunia—an insurrection which would not fail to be supported by the French authorities at Corfu. The determined resolution, also, of Mustapha, Pacha of Delvino, the present head of the French party, and of the principal Beys of the Chamouri, who had sought an asylum among them, contributed to increase their confidence. Thus they hoped that their defence would be that of despair: they were moreover animated by the assurances of powerful assistance from the Grand Seignior, provided they could hold out for a few months. An emissary was secretly despatched from Constantinople, commissioned to determine the Beys who were inimical to the Vizier, to rally round Gardiki, and there defend themselves. But for these assurances they would have found a more secure retreat at Corfu, in the hospitality of General Donzelot, who was lavish of his assistance to the refugees and proscribed of Epirus.

Ali Pacha, far from being alarmed at this new confederacy, only viewed it as allowing him a favourable opportunity of exterminating the whole of his enemies at a single blow. Besides, Gardiki was the town in which the unutterable indignities to his mother and sister had been offered. Regarding the accomplishment of his mother's last will as a sacred duty, he wished that this accursed town, the dishonour of his family, and the asylum of his inveterate foes, should drink the cup of vengeance to its very dregs. Doubtless his sister Chaïnitza herself inflamed his ardour for revenge. Anxious to avoid digressions or episodes, the general blemish of modern works, we have hitherto made but little mention of her in the course of this history. But an opportunity now presents itself of again introducing to the reader, the haughty and implacable sister of Ali.

Ali first gave her in marriage to the late Pacha of Argyro-Castron, against whom he had since indulged so deep a hatred. He was accused (for of what crime was he not capable?) of having for a long time solicited his sister to poison her husband; and, upon her refusing, of having procured his assassination by the hand of his brother Soliman, and of having rewarded a fratricide by the incestuous nuptials of his sister with the murderer of her husband.

The fruit of Chaïnitza's first marriage was only one daughter, afterwards married to the Bey of

Cleïssoura. She died young, according to some by a natural death, while others assert that she was assassinated by Ali, for having been too much devoted to the interests of Ibrahim, Pacha of Berat. Ali, seizing all her possessions, rebuilt the fortress of Cleïssoura, the key to that part of Epirus.

By her union with Soliman, Chäinitza had two sons, the one named Elmas Bey, the other Aden Bey, both of whom died in the flower of their age. The elder had been appointed Governor of Thesaly; the younger, who was the idol of his mother, had married the last of the three daughters of Ibrahim Pacha—an alliance which he had contracted by command of Ali Pacha, in order to prolong the illusion of him whose destruction he had sworn. Chäinitza was inconsolable for the death of Aden Bey; with the blows of a hammer she broke in pieces the diamonds belonging to herself and her beloved son; she burnt her *cache-mirés* and her most valuable furs, and forced the widow of Aden to lie upon straw mats spread upon the earth. All the looking-glasses and other ornaments of her seraglio were destroyed, and the windows of her apartments were painted black. Every appearance of happiness was banished from her palace. For ever inconsolable, Chäinitza retired to Libochobo, the second town of the canton of Drynopolis, situated in the elevated and fertile region of Mount Mertchica.

Libochobo was one of Ali's first conquests, and he had there erected a superb seraglio, intended for his sister. Here, a prey to grief and tears, resided the cruel and imperious sovereign of Dryopia. The opening of the campaign against the Gardikiotes, the issue of which she awaited with the utmost anxiety, in some degree diverted her grief. It was now near the month of January 1812. The Gardikiotes having made preparations for the most vigorous defence, confided the command of their troops to Demir Dosti, a general of consummate abilities and acknowledged valour. The Vizier's army was commanded by Emir Bey, and Jousouf the Arab, two of his most experienced officers: it was so numerous, that five hundred horse-loads of bread were daily distributed in rations.

The operations advanced but slowly, being chiefly confined to affairs of outposts. The generals of Ali contented themselves with destroying the villages dependant upon Gardiki, and driving in their advanced posts, either with the intention of protracting the war, or from their wish of sparing a Mahometan population. Knowing the vindictive temper of the Vizier, they represented to him in their despatches the extreme difficulty of taking the town by assault, requesting that he would authorize them to propose to the Gardikiotes the terms of capitulation granted to the inhabitants of Argyro-Castron.

Penetrating their design, Ali ordered Athanasi Vaïa, an officer upon whose discretion and fidelity he could rely, to proceed immediately to the army with a corps of Greeks and Arnantes. His instructions were to act in concert with the other Greek corps already employed under the walls of Gardiki. Symptoms of discouragement had already begun to manifest themselves. That portion of the people who had been accustomed to agricultural labours, and to wander with their flocks free and unconfined over their native mountains, found themselves too much straitened in lines which were to be guarded with vigilance and defended with intrepidity. Upon the arrival of Athanasi at the camp, he assembled a certain number of chosen officers, shewed them the orders of the Vizier, joined their different corps with his own, and without making any communication to the Turkish generals, led them on, sabre in hand, to the attack of the town. His first success was the taking a large fortified farm at the foot of the mountain. The Gardikiotes fled, ascended the mountain by narrow paths, and sought for refuge, some in the town itself, and others in a kind of citadel which commanded the approaches to it. The confusion was soon general in Gardiki, the assault being quite unexpected. The Greek assailants, animated by their general's example, and delighted at having an opportunity of destroying a Mahometan town, braved every danger, sur-

mounted every obstacle, and were soon masters of the citadel. Thence they penetrated into the town itself, which now became a prey to all the horrors of storm, in sight of the Turkish troops encamped at the foot of the mountain. Sali Bey Goka, and his wife, who had been repudiated by Mouctar, were the only persons who preferred being their own executioners rather than fall into Ali's power. The other chiefs, abandoned by the inhabitants and deserted by their troops, instead of imitating so courageous an example, assembled in a quarter of the town as yet unassaulted, where, to the number of seventy-two Beys and Agas, they hastened to acknowledge their submission to the Vizier. This being notified to the Turkish generals, they immediately ordered the carnage to cease. Mustapha Pacha and Demir Dosti were among the number of the prisoners. They were all sent off to Janina under a strong escort.

Like that of victims, their path was strewed with flowers. At Janina they were received with the sound of musical instruments, and with all the pomp reserved for those whom the people delight to honour. Ali, who was waiting for them in his palace, hastened himself to meet them, and as he raised them, after they had kissed his feet, and struck the earth with their forehead, he reproached them with their defection, but in terms so mild, that they could be

under no apprehensions for their personal safety. Each had his particular quarters assigned him in the Vizier's Castle of the Lake: they were even permitted to retain their arms, their accustomed guard, and their domestics, the latter being praised by Ali for their fidelity. In short, they were all treated with that munificence which was one of his usual refinements of cruelty when he wished his victims to feel more acutely their reverse of fortune.

This was in the month of February 1812. During the night of the 6th or 7th March, a brisk fusillade was heard at the Castle of the Lake, followed by a dreadful cry, which too plainly informed the affrighted town that the hostages had been attacked. It was reported the next day, that the Vizier, with whom nothing was sacred, had endeavoured to assassinate them in the dead of the night, but that, being on their guard, and intrenched within their apartments, they had fired upon their assassins, which gave them the advantage of waiting till daylight to obtain quarter;—that they had then surrendered their arms;—that Ali, not daring to massacre them in sight of the public, had contented himself with loading them with chains, upon the pretext of their having endeavoured to escape,—and that he had removed them into the prisons of the Monastery of Sotiras, situated in the middle of the lake.

Being now master of Mustapha Pacha and the seventy-two hostages, Ali announced to his whole court his resolution of repairing to Gardiki, for the purpose, as he said, of re-establishing order, forming a tribunal of justice, and organising an effective police for the protection of the inhabitants. On the 19th March, the day fixed for his departure, the French Consul went to his palace.* The troops had been on the march since the morning, the baggage was quitting the seraglio, and the pages, in military costume, awaited the order for mounting, when the Consul, traversing the court-yards filled with petitioners who were anxiously waiting for a sight of the Vizier, passed by some heads recently severed from their trunks and stuck upon poles. Having arrived at the vast apartments of the palace, the French Consul was announced: the embroidered curtain rose, and the Consul entered. Ali was seated on the edge of his sofa in a pensive attitude, leaning upon a battle-axe. He was covered with a scarlet mantle, and wore boots of crimson velvet. The Consul had placed himself, according to etiquette, on his right hand, when Ali, recovering from his fit of abstraction, after having looked earnestly at him for some time, made a sign for his ministers to withdraw. "Is it you, my son?" said he, in a faltering voice; then taking one of my

* Voyage dans la Grèce, already quoted.

hands, which he held within his own, he lifted his eyes, suffused with tears, to Heaven. “Destiny is fulfilled: my enemies, notwithstanding their late attempt at escape, have not been able to exhaust my patience; they are in my power, but I will not use it to their destruction. Believe what I say, my dear Consul: forget your prejudices against me. I do not desire you to esteem me; I will force you to do so, by adopting a line of conduct the very reverse of that which I have hitherto pursued. My career is now accomplished, and I will crown my labours by showing that, if I have been terrible and severe, I also know how to respect justice and humanity. I intend to make Argyro-Castron the retreat of my old age, and Gardikî the garden of Albania. These are my ultimate views; and if I could but obtain Parga, which I have entreated of you so long—Parga, for which I would pay your government its own price, besides a brilliant fortune for yourself, my every wish would then be gratified. I do not invite you, my son, to accompany me in my present journey; the season is bad; and as I shall soon return, we will then go to Preveza to spend the first fine days of Spring. Pray write what I have just said to your ambassador, for my enemies will not fail to calumniate me at Constantinople.” As he concluded, he gave his grand chamberlain the order for departure, and the Consul and he separated,

the former without placing the least reliance upon Ali's professions of amendment. He trembled for the fate of the Gardikiotes.

The news of the capture of Gardiki had quite revived the spirits of the stern and implacable Chäinitza. She had thus written to her brother:

“ Neither the title of Vizier, nor the name of Brother, will I henceforth allow thee, if thou keepest not the oath sworn to our mother over her inanimate corpse. If thou art indeed the son of Khamco, thou oughtest to raze Gardiki to the ground, exterminate its inhabitants, and deliver up its females to me, that I may dispose of them according to my pleasure. It is only on mattresses stuffed with the hair of the Gardikiotish women, that Chäinitza will henceforth repose. Absolute master of the Gardikiotes, forget not the outrages which we suffered in the days of our wretched captivity: the hour of vengeance has now arrived; let them be annihilated.”

On the third day after his departure from Janina, the Vizier alighted at his sister's palace at Libochobo. It was remarked, that, after their first interview, the tears of Chäinitza, which since the death of Aden Bey had flowed incessantly, ceased as if by enchantment. Her apartments, hitherto hung with gloomy draperies, were now covered with the richest Persian carpets,

and ornamented with the gayest furniture ; her women resumed their finery ; she herself reappeared in public, and received visits as she had formerly done in her days of maternal happiness and triumph. She celebrated the return of her brother with fêtes, singing, and music. Ali, upon rising from the banquet at which he had presided, proceeded to the Castle of Chendria.

Erected on the summit of a rock, at a short distance from the right bank of the Celydnus, this fortress commands the entire valley of Drynopolis ; from the neighbouring heights is seen Gardiki and its surrounding territory. It was here that the Vizier sat in judgment. At day-break, heralds appointed for the purpose arrived at Gardiki, and proclaimed in his name a general amnesty ; at the same time ordering all the males, from the age of ten years, to repair to Chendria, there to hear from the Vizier's own mouth the decree which restored them to happiness.

Notwithstanding this declaration, consternation was general amongst the inhabitants. The mosques were filled with old and young imploring God and his prophet, while Heaven's vault resounded with the cries of the women, who had rushed from the harems to see and embrace their husbands, children, or brothers. A fatal presentiment seemed to intimate to them that it was for the last time. The Gardikiotes proceeded sorrowfully towards Chendria : they descended

the hills, and, having arrived in the plain, turned with "longing, ling'ring look" to salute their natal town ere it disappeared from their view. Overcome with grief, they mingled the name of Gardiki with their sighs; and forcing themselves from the spot whence they could still see their domestic hearths, they passed the Celydnus, arrived at Chendria, and prostrated themselves at the feet of the Vizier, who was expecting them in the midst of three thousand satellites. There they entreated his pardon, and implored his mercy by all that is capable of affecting the heart of man. Ali appeared softened; tears moistened his cheek; he raised the suppliants, encouraged them, called them his brethren, his children; desired some whom he had formerly known to approach him; recalled to their recollection past battles, the times of their youth, and even the gambols of infancy. At length he dismissed them with apparent regret, desiring them to await his arrival in the enclosure of the khan near Valiare, as it was there he would determine their future destination: The wretched Gardikiotes, the victims of despair, retired surrounded by their guards.

Two hours afterwards, Ali descended from Chendria in a palanquin, supported on the shoulders of his Valaques. Having gained the plain, he mounted his calash, ornamented with embroidered cushions and rich cachemires. Then, ordering his Tchoardars to follow him, he arrived at the

khan full-gallop. Having made the circuit of it, as if to examine if there were any issue for flight, he caused all the prisoners to pass in review before him one by one; he asked their age, family, and profession, and then separated them into two bodies: the greater he ordered to be conducted to a place of security, and sent the other, amounting to six hundred and seventy, into the court-yard of the khan, which is a square enclosed on all sides.

Then, placing himself in front of his troops, he took a carbine from the hand of a soldier, and cried out with a loud voice “*Vras!*” (kill!)—but the Mahometans remained motionless, and a low murmur was heard throughout the ranks: some even threw down their arms. Ali was about to harangue them, when several voices called out together, that “Mahometans cannot steep their hands in the blood of their brethren.” Ali then addressed himself to an auxiliary corps of Mirdites, who served under his banners, and who were called the *black* battalion from the colour of the short cloak which covered their head and shoulders. But these also refused to massacre defenceless wretches:—“Restore to the Gardikiotes the arms you have taken from them,” said the chiefs of the Mirdites to him; “let them march out into the open country to defend themselves, and, if they accept the challenge, you shall then see that we can serve you faithfully.”

Ali, foaming with rage, thought he was completely deserted, when Athanasi Vaïa, the most abandoned instrument of his crimes, said to him in a loud voice, "May the enemies of my lord perish! I offer him my arm." And at the head of his Greek battalions, he rushed towards the walls of the khan, which enclosed his victims.

The wretched Gardikiotes, divided between hope and despair, no sooner saw the walls occupied by these brigands than they prepared for their fate. Upon the Vizier lifting his battle-axe, which was the signal, the massacre commenced by a general discharge of musquetry: this was followed by dreadful and long-continued shrieks. Soldiers placed at the foot of the walls kept handing up to the murderers loaded musquets, so as to keep up a running fire, in the intervals of which were heard the horrid groans of the dying. Here was seen the father writhing in agony on the expiring body of his child; the blood of youth was mingled with that of old age. Those who had as yet escaped the fatal ball, or were only slightly wounded, endeavoured to scale the walls, and were poniarded. The fury of despair furnished weapons to some: they tore up the stones of the pavement, and wounded several of their assassins with them. Others, thinking to escape the musquetry, fled into an apartment of the khan; but the Greeks set fire to it, and the unfortunate fugitives perished in the flames. Some

indeed, who had succeeded in escaping from the khan, ran to Ali, threw themselves at his feet, and implored his mercy ; but, still inexorable, he ordered his Chiaoux and Kaïvasis to cut them in pieces with their sabres. Not one of these unfortunates escaped. Their dead bodies, to the number of nearly seven hundred, were left without burial on the spot where they suffered. The door of the enclosure was then walled up, and the following inscription placed over it: “ *So perish all the enemies of the house of Ali!*” On the very day of this horrible butchery, Ali signed the death-warrant of the hostages whom he kept confined in the prisons of the Monastery of Sotiras, in the middle of the lake: Demir Dosti, with seventy other Beys, suffered under the hand of the executioners; the majority were strangled, and a few had their heads struck off. The lake threw up the dead bodies: headless trunks, half devoured by dogs, were found upon the public roads, and in many places near the lake were seen newly-made graves. The consternation throughout Janina was general. People feared to speak in the streets; even salutations were avoided. The public bazars were deserted; the mosques and churches were abandoned; and numerous patrols paraded the streets. Suspicion hovered over every one. The only question now asked, and that mysteriously, was—“Where is the Vizier?” .

He was consummating the destruction of Gardiki. After the massacre at Valiare, he had repaired to that town, formerly so flourishing, and had given orders for razing it to the ground. Gardiki resounded with the lamentations of the women and children torn from their native homes. Mothers who had lived in opulence, young maidens whom Hymen was about to bless with the objects of their tenderest affections, were delivered over to the brutal violence of the soldiery, and then dragged before the implacable Chaïnitza, who, after insulting them, haughtily commanded their veils to be torn away, and their hair to be cut off in her presence; then treading it under foot, she ordered the cushions of her divan to be stuffed with it. This done, she seated herself on her divan, and pronounced the following sentence, which was immediately repeated by the public criers. "Woe be to him who shall give food, raiment, or asylum to the matrons, daughters, and children of Gardiki! My lips condemn them to wander through the woods and mountains; and when worn out by fatigue and famine, to be devoured by the beasts of the forest!"

Thus anathematized, these wretched victims, houseless and deserted, passed the rest of the day, and the whole night, exposed to all the inclemencies of the atmosphere, making the rocks of Libochobo re-echo with their lamentations. Some,

seized with the pains of premature labour, perished, utterly deprived of help; while others expired by the torments of famine, or the delirium of despair.

The remainder of this wretched population, wandering and houseless, would likewise have perished with hunger and misery, had not Ali, less inhuman than his sister, revoked their sentence, by decreeing that the Gardikiotes should be sold as slaves, and dispersed in distant regions, and that all their possessions should be confiscated. But his anathema against their town was confirmed by an order which forbade them to rebuild on its site a single house, so long as his dynasty should reign over Epirus. Ali ever afterwards exulted in his barbarous revenge, as an act of justice and filial piety.

It was very natural, after the effusion of so much blood, that the sudden death of Mustapha Pacha of Delvino, who was shut up in the same convent with his two sons, should also be imputed to the exterminator of the Gardikiotes. The Vizier was accused of having caused the death of Mustapha by slow famine, his daily allowance being only a very small piece of Calombocī bread, and a glass of water. Ali exhibited the corpse publicly, in conformity with the custom which requires that, after the death of a Pacha, his body shall be examined, to see if there be

any marks of violence. But, notwithstanding this, Mustapha's death was considered to have been a violent one, both at Janina and Constantinople.

The crimes meditated by tyrants are almost always anticipated, either by a feeling of hatred, or by induction:—another victim to Ali's cruelty was now spoken of, the venerable Ibrahim Pacha, whose sighs and groans were daily heard beneath his palace. Being informed that these reports were not only generally propagated, but also eagerly listened to, the Vizier imagined the most singular stratagem to predispose the Porte against the clamours of his enemies, and sound its sentiments with regard to Ibrahim. The Pacha suddenly disappeared from his prison; and the messenger who was every morning sent there by his daughters to inquire after his health, returned and announced that he was no longer to be found. Convinced that their father had been secretly put to death; they raised the fearful cry which is customary in Albania at the death of a near relation. Their example was followed by all the slaves of their harem, and the women residing near them. The cry of mourning spread from house to house, and for three days Janina resounded with lamentations for the imaginary death of Ibrahim, of whose death there was no longer any doubt. The French Consul hastened to despatch a courier to Constantinople with the intelligence. The courier was stopped by Ali's agents, who, after exa-

mining his despatches, permitted him to continue his journey. On the arrival of the French Consul's despatches, the most violent suspicions were formed against Ali. The Divan assembled, and a Capidgi-Baschi of the first rank was sent to Janina, with an order from the Sultan to inquire into the matter, and afterwards make a report, founded upon the depositions of the chief officers of religion and justice.

The Capidgi-Baschi arrived at Janina, and was introduced into the presence of Ali, surrounded by all his ministers. He declared to him the object of his mission, and shewed him the firman of the Grand Seignior. Ali, affecting the utmost surprise, cried out—"Dead! my father Ibrahim dead!" then turning towards his two ministers, Mahomet and Sechri-Effenli, "Go," said he to them, "and accompany this officer into Ibrahim's apartment, that he may be convinced of the vile calumnies which are propagated against me." Being conducted into the handsomest apartment of the seraglio, the Capidgi-Baschi found Ibrahim surrounded by all that could enhance the charms of existence, but at the same time instructed as to what he should say, under pain of the most dreadful tortures. He therefore prayed that the Capidgi-Baschi would assure his master the Sultan, "that he kissed the earth on which he placed his sacred feet; that he felt with the deepest gratitude the interest which his High-

ness deigned to take in his welfare; but that he was completely happy, and more than satisfied with his condition at Janina, where he was treated with the most affectionate kindness by the Vizier, who permitted him every day to enjoy the society of his daughters and their children; that, being too old to support the cares of government, he was certain that his possessions could not be in better hands than in those of his dearest friend the Vizier."

The Capidgi-Baschi, astonished at this unexpected reply, having returned into the council-chamber, "You see," said Ali to him, "how I am surrounded by enemies and calumniators; suspicion every where pursues me, and my actions, as well as their motives, are represented in the falsest colours (as a proof of which are the recent reports respecting the death of Mustapha Pacha of Delvino. Report, then, to the Sultan my master, what you have seen and heard; tell him that Ali, in his old age, will never dishonour his grey hairs, nor ever act in opposition to the intentions and wishes of his glorious sovereign." He then loaded the Capidgi-Baschi with presents, treated him in the most splendid manner, always taking care to surround him with his satellites, and, on his departure, gave him a guard of honour, which reconducted him as far as the gates of Constantinople.

Ali, after having surmounted so many difficul-

ties, and overcome so many enemies, now resolved to avenge himself on the French Consul. Not daring to expel him the country, which would have been the signal for war between him and Bonaparte, and would likewise have produced the animadversions of the Porte, he deprived him of all credit and influence, avoiding every opportunity of receiving him, and even forbidding his subjects to have the least communication with him. It was a concealed war between France and Ali, in which the weapons employed were manœuvring and intrigue. About this time the immense preparations of Bonaparte against Russia, then at war with the Porte, naturally induced the latter to give greater influence and credit to the French cabinet, and its ambassador at Constantinople*. Ali, who by throwing himself into the arms of England had appeared to despise and bid defiance to the power of France, had drawn upon himself the irreconcilable hatred of that power. General Andreossi, therefore, was continually urging the Porte to chastise a Pacha so independent, bold, and sanguinary. According to the writer already quoted †, a regular correspondence was kept up between the French Ambassador at Constantinople, the Duke of Bassano at Paris, General Donzelot at Corfu, and the French Consul at Janina, the ob-

* General Andreossi.

† Mr. T. Smart Hughes.

jects of which were to plunge Ali into all possible difficulties, to foment rebellion in his Pachaship, excite enemies against him from without, represent him at Constantinople in all his native deformity, and draw down upon his head the vengeance of the Grand Seignior. Ali was not ignorant of these intrigues, and attributed his conduct towards the French Consul, and his resentment against the French, to a knowledge of them.

But it was in vain that he employed all his cunning, and put in motion at Constantinople all the springs of intrigue and corruption, to deceive or to conciliate the Ottoman Porte. Irritated by his sanguinary conduct, pressed by France, and moved by the various reports and petitions daily presented against Ali, the Turkish government at length appeared resolved to chastise this dreaded Pacha, and attack him in his own dominions. That the honour of the Porte might run no risk of being compromised in the approaching struggle, judicious and experienced officers were sent, under different pretexts, to inspect Epirus, and to make their reports of its military forces, magazines, stores, and the state of its fortresses. Ali appeared very willing to furnish them with the means of satisfying their curiosity, and of fulfilling the object of their mission.

The magnitude of the preparations at length alarmed him. He told one of his confidants, that he would defend himself to the last extremity, and

that if he found himself hard pressed, rather than fall into the hands of his enemies, he would blow himself up in his seraglio at Litaritza, which he had surrounded with fortifications. In the opinion of the French Consul* his ruin was determined upon, when the events of Bonaparte's expedition into Russia gave a new direction to Turkish politics. According to Mr. Hughes, whom we have already mentioned, the representations made to the Divan by the English ambassador contributed not a little to avert the threatened storm. "He had rendered too many services to the English, and had had their interests too much at heart, for them to desert him when he stood in need of their assistance. The arrival of the English ambassador's secretary at Janina, about the commencement of 1815, completely sanctioned the opinion that Ali found protection and support in the British embassy, and that henceforth he had nothing to fear either from the Divan, the Grand Seignior, or from France.

Ali, who had retired to Argyro-Castron, was no sooner informed of the course of events, than he returned to Janina with fresh projects of aggrandizement and power. Towards the close of spring, he completed his conquest of Threspotia, by the taking of Margariti; and, with the sole exception of Parga, the possession of which he still coveted, he was absolute master of Epirus.

* Voyage dans la Grèce, vol. iii. p. 409.

Then affecting to display all the splendour and power of a sovereign, the Vizier of Janina constructed new roads, founded towns, built fortresses, and made throughout Epirus other improvements truly royal. Tepelini, the place of his birth, was already indebted to him for a spacious and magnificent seraglio, which he caused to be built upon the site of his father's house. He had shewn several times, during the short intervals of peace, his taste, both for sumptuous edifices and for monuments of public utility; and at this period his political security allowed him a full opportunity of indulging his favourite predilections.

His court already presented a degree of splendour and magnificence exceeding what was generally found among European princes. More than fifteen hundred persons were every day entertained in his palace at Janina, amongst whom were foreigners from every part of the globe;—some attracted by his celebrity, others by curiosity, while not a few came to make an offer of their services, which were generally accepted. In 1812 he received a visit from a Khan, or Persian prince, whom together with his numerous suite he lodged in his palace. From this time his government was modelled after that of an European potentate. He had three principal Secretaries of State: Sechri-Effendi, who accompanied him in all his excursions; Dwann-Effendi, entrusted with his correspondence with the Porte;

and Mahomet-Effendi, chief of his Divan. There were also a great number of other counsellors, without having any distinct office or appointment; the principal of whom were Mezzo-Bonno, Derwich Hassan, Agho-Mondari, and Athanasi-Vaïa. Ali also employed four under-secretaries of state, all Greeks, who managed his correspondence with the Beys, Agas, and Governors of the different Albanian provinces. Two of these men, Costa and Mantho, were his most devoted instruments either of vengeance or despotism, and were famous for duplicity and cunning. Ali had also two dragomans or interpreters, both Greeks, Signor Colovo, and Signor Bayzadi, son of one of the princes of the Fanar. His four physicians also occasionally acted as interpreters and secretaries. As to the military portion of his domestic establishment, of which his pages and ushers formed a part, it was numerous and splendid. Ali's favourite and minion was Athanasi-Vaïa, who being the most fortunate of his generals may be considered as the general-in-chief of his forces. The most secret intentions of his master were known to him, to whom he also had free access whenever he required it.

“ Ali Pacha's Divan consists of the chief officers of his household, and other persons chosen by himself, from whom he expects useful services. But all the proceedings are mere formalities, since no member of this council would venture to

express an opinion contrary to that of his master. In every department of the administration, he is his own minister: his prodigious memory enables him to enter into the minutest details, and to regulate the most trifling things: though, according to Turkish custom, he commits nothing to writing, yet nothing escapes him, and none of his ordinances contradict the preceding ones, unless, which very seldom happens, he should have altered his opinion. His indefatigable activity enables him to find time for every thing, so that no business is neglected. But he requires the same activity from his officers and servants; and his rigorous strictness in this respect causes an almost incredible rapidity in the executive measures of the government. In order to obtain the utmost that is possible, he is accustomed to require what is impossible; and, as every body knows that he tolerates no disobedience, and accepts no excuse whatever, fear produces wonders. His usual threat on delivering such commands is this: ‘*Do what I commanded, or the black serpent shall bite your eyes out.*’ The oath of the Sultan, by the beard of the Prophet, is less to be dreaded than these terrible words, which are almost equivalent to a sentence of death.

“In his dominions he has established a police, unknown in the rest of Turkey, the object of which is the maintenance of public security, and which does not spare even the professional rob-

bers (the *Kleftès*, the ancient companions in arms of Ali): this police also penetrates into private houses, observes the conduct of individuals, and gives in reports on their actions, discourses, and views. It keeps the strictest watch over the connexions of the Greeks with Constantinople, and other places. Ali makes himself acquainted with all letters sent from his dominions, without excepting the correspondence of the foreign ministers and agents accredited to him; he respects neither foreign couriers, nor those of his own sovereign; but is at all times ready to lay the blame upon others, and to make a show of giving satisfaction, by hanging some poor devil who is languishing in his prisons. In the year 1807, he caused three couriers to be murdered (two of whom were French), upon whom, however, to his great vexation, he found only letters written in cypher. His agents, whom he has every where, and the correspondence of the Greeks in his service, inform him of whatever passes in Europe, and direct his conduct, as he has constantly in view to obtain a support out of Turkey."

The very important events connected with the memorable war of France with Russia were now *in transitu*—events in which Ali took the deepest interest. From his allies and neighbours the English, who were in the Ionian Isles, he received the earliest intelligence of Bonaparte's reverses.

Anticipating immediately the result of this long-protracted struggle, he conjectured that the whole Ionian Archipelago would be reduced under the dominion of that power who had already subdued the greater part. It has been seen how anxiously he desired to gain a footing in those islands, in order to raise a more formidable marine, and establish an *entrepôt* for his commerce; he would also have converted them into a secure retreat in the event of a reverse of fortune. He would willingly have sacrificed the half of his continental territories to obtain possession of Corfu, which would have rendered him more independent of the Porte than any other acquisition. At the close of a war, in which he had rendered the English such important services, he expected to be recompensed at least with the cession of some maritime establishment. Such were the motives which induced him to receive the English, whom curiosity had attracted to Janina, with the most distinguished and flattering attentions. It was then he displayed all his magnificence. At a splendid fête which he gave the Earl of Guilford, in one of his most beautiful kiosks, the whole repast was served up on gold plate and in vases of crystal. The English Resident, Mr. George Foresti, was in great credit at his court, and possessed considerable influence over him. Like the French Consul, he availed

himself of it to soften the tyrant's disposition, and engage him in acts of clemency and justice.

At times Ali would precipitate into the deepest abysses of misery the man whom he had elevated to the greatest height of prosperity:—it formed a part of his policy, as by this means he maintained fear and submission among his vassals. A rich Greek, named Michelachi, with whom he had been on the most intimate terms of friendship, had on his death-bed nominated him the guardian of his son Ali, still a child, and entrusted him with the care of his fortune. Affected by this appeal to his sensibility and honour, the Vizier took the greatest care of his young ward, gave him a most excellent education, and as soon as he became of age, put him in possession of his fortune, which had been very considerably increased during his minority. But the generosity of the Vizier did not stop here: he married his ward to a very rich heiress, and afterwards nominated him a primate of Janina. In this distinguished post, he equally acquired the respect and esteem of Turks and Greeks. It was, however, expedient for Ali's policy about this time to give an example of a great fall, and Michelachi was chosen to be the victim. Suborned witnesses deposed that he was in the possession of treasures which the widow of Calo-Pacha, the Vizier's predecessor, had hidden at her husband's death. Ali confronted

the accused with these wretches, and ordered him to deliver up the treasures in question. Conscious of his own innocence, he answered the Vizier in such terms of indignant reproach, as produced one of those paroxysms of rage to which Ali was subject, and which imparted to his features the most horrible expression; and he immediately ordered Michelachi to be thrown into the Buld-run, a dark and loathsome dungeon. This sentence was immediately executed, and the hands, feet, and neck of his victim were loaded with heavy chains. His house in the mean time was pillaged, his superb furniture thrown into the streets, and all his family delivered over to the savage insults of the ferocious Arnauts. The whole town was now filled with terror and consternation; persons of all ranks and of every religion were seen crowding to the seraglio to implore the clemency of Ali; but he resembled a furious lion, and during the whole day no one dared to approach him. The principal Greeks then turned their thoughts toward the English Resident, and sent a deputation to entreat that he would intercede for them with the Vizier. The next day at day-break Mr. George Foresti repaired to the seraglio, at the very moment when Ali had just finished his morning ablutions. The court and anteroom were already filled with crowds of suppliants, in whose features were strongly depicted anxiety and alarm.

Having requested an audience, the Resident was immediately introduced into the Vizier's presence. After some ordinary conversation,—“Seeing this morning,” said he, casually, “an immense crowd about the seraglio, and finding the whole town in a tumult, I inquired the cause. Is it possible that you could have put to death my friend Michelachi?”—“I have not put him to death,” cried the Vizier, impatiently: “he is still alive, thank God! But, my dear Sir, he has treated me most shamefully, he has cruelly deceived me: his conduct has hurt me most severely. How is it possible that a man upon whom I have lavished favour upon favour ever since he was a child, could prove so ungrateful?”—“I shall be the first to condemn him should it turn out so. But have you given him the means of establishing his innocence? Who are his accusers?”—“A great number of persons, who have sworn to the truth of their accusations before the Archbishop, after kissing the crucifix.”—“That may be; but are you sure that these people are entitled to credit, and can you prefer their oaths to the word of such a man as Michelachi? What will my government think of it? what will be the impression at the Porte, when it shall be known that you have ruined, or put your best friend to death, upon such testimony?”—“But what can I do, my son, now that I have committed myself so far?”—“Order an instant inquiry to be set on

foot.”—“ Will you undertake it ? ”—“ Most willingly ; and more for your sake than for that of Michelachi. But he must be released upon proper security, for he is in chains, and may perish before he has proved his innocence.”—“ Well, then, take him into the room over the treasury, and leave him there under a strong guard ; and may God prosper your undertaking ! ”

Accompanied by the Archbishop and the two Primates of the town, Mr. George Foresti made, *pro forma*, a diligent search in order to discover treasures which he knew had never been in existence : he then confronted Michelachi with his accusers, who were utterly incapable of giving the least proof in support of their infamous allegations. They then presented themselves before the Vizier, to certify the innocence of the accused. Ali affected to fall into a great rage with the wretches whom he had himself suborned, and declared that they should suffer the punishment of death ; but at the entreaties of the Resident, and those of Michelachi himself, he commuted their punishment to a few months imprisonment. Michelachi was immediately restored to favour ; and the Vizier repeatedly thanked Mr. Foresti for having preserved him from the shame and grief of condemning an innocent man.

What most astonished the English at the court of the modern satrap of Epirus, was to see him ride daily from one end of Janina to the other,

attended only by a single guard, and admit into his presence any person armed or not, whether *solus* or accompanied by others. His confidence seemed his protection, and his people imagined that he bore "a charmed life." His excursions were frequent, as he had not less than thirty country houses at Janina and in its neighbourhood. It was in one of his kiosks near his capital, situated in the midst of his large and beautiful gardens, that he went every day to repose himself after the fatigue of business. When he quitted his seraglio, the place of his destination was never known till he had arrived there :—a custom which he adopted more from caprice than a sentiment of fear, as no one exposed his person more than Ali, and that without the least degree of affectation. The visit of the celebrated poet Lord Byron, and of Mr. Hobhouse, a member of the British Parliament, was succeeded in the course of the year 1813, by that of Colonel Church*, Mr. Cockerell, Mr. Robert Fowley Parker, and Mr. Thomas Smart Hughes. Upon their arrival, the Dragoman of the Vizier waited upon them with the usual compliments, and an invitation to pay him a visit at the seraglio. At the hour fixed for their being presented, they

* The same who, having attained the rank of Lieutenant-general in the service of the Two Sicilies, perished in the massacre at Palermo, in the month of July 1820.

all proceeded, accompanied by the British Resident, to the seraglio of Litaritza, an immense pile of building, constructed in a very curious and picturesque manner of wood painted in various colours, and rising as it were out of a strong fortress which forms the basement-story. The cannon, which are planted in the embrasures, are turned against the town : the true picture of a tyrant intrenched among his slaves.

The following animated description of the introduction and presentation of these gentlemen, cannot be better rendered than in Mr. Hughes's own words * :

“ Having passed,” says he, “ through the outer gates of the great court, we found it crowded with a numerous retinue of Albanian guards, loitering about or seated on the ground and smoking pipes : intermingled with these, Agas and Beys might be distinguished by jackets embroidered till they were as stiff as coats of mail ; Tatars, by the lofty bonnet ; Dervishes, by the sugar-loaf cap ; Chaoushes, by their golden-knobbed sticks ; and here and there a poor petitioner, by his supplicating looks and dejected air, unable, perhaps, to see the proud menial who denied him access to his master. At the second gate, which leads into an inner area, is a small room on the left-hand side, where the Pacha now

* Hughes's Travels in Sicily and Greece, vol. i. p. 445.

sat listening to petitions, and deciding causes in the gate, being supreme over all, both ecclesiastical and civil, in his dominions. Indeed, he very much simplifies judicial proceedings, and cuts very short the quirks and quibbles of the law, setting Archons, Muftis, Cadis, and every other officer, at defiance: his will is the only statute-book, and the sole precedents to which he appeals are the dictates of his own caprice. In criminal matters, that admirable maxim of British jurisprudence, which tends to prevent the execution of one innocent man, though nine guilty should escape, is here totally reversed—hang ten, provided you secure the offender. We entered the palace through a mean kind of hall, which is turned into a coach-house or *place de remise*, for a large unwieldy German carriage. From this place we ascended a flight of narrow slippery stone steps, into the habitable part of the seraglio, which is upon the first floor. Passing through a large room, at least one hundred and fifty feet in length, which is appropriated to the retinue of the court, we were ushered into a very fine saloon, well-furnished, and profusely adorned with gilding and carved wood. The floor was covered with a rich Persian carpet of immense size; the sofas of the divan were of the best Cyprus velvet fringed with gold, and the windows, formed of the largest plate glass, brought into view the fine expanse of the lake with its

very magnificent mountain scenery. All the decorations of the palace appeared sumptuous; but how much rather would the eye have rested upon those ornaments of the fine arts which form so distinguishing a mark between barbarian magnificence and elegant refinement! We waited in this room about half an hour, during which time we were subjected to the inspection of nearly all the officers, slaves, and eunuchs of the palace; amongst the rest one Seid Achmet Effendi, a man of dark colour, who had been sent by the Pacha upon a mission to London, accosted us with great familiarity, and seemed so ambitious of displaying his extraordinary attainments before his companions by conversing with the *Milordi* in their own language, that he repeated to us the few sentences of English with which he was acquainted full fifty times. A mad dervish also, who has free ingress into all the Vizier's apartments, came and looked at us, muttered something between his teeth, probably a curse, and then departed.

“At length a chaoush came to announce that his highness was ready to receive us; and we descended the great staircase, impatient to view this extraordinary character, the representative of a sovereign, more puissant than his master—a man less than a king, yet greater. At the entrance of his apartment stood several Albanian guards, one of whom opened the door, and we

marched into the room, saluting the Vizier as we entered, who sat upon a lion's skin at an angle of the Divan, handsomely but not superbly dressed: a band of gold lace which bound the scarlet cap upon his head, a broad belt of the same material which passed round his waist, and the pommel of his haridjar glittering with diamonds, alone denoted the man of exalted rank: a houka stood near him, which he is rather fond of exhibiting, as the use of it shews a considerable strength of lungs. As soon as we were seated upon the Divan, he returned our salutation by placing his right hand upon his breast with a gentle inclination of his head, and expressed his satisfaction at seeing us in his capital. He then asked if we spoke Romaic. Colonel Church, though an excellent linguist, for political reasons pretended total ignorance of the language; Mr. Cockerell, from his intimate acquaintance with the manners of the Turks, who admire reserve in youth, dissembled his true knowledge; whilst Mr. Parker and myself confessed an ignorance which our short residence in Greece had not yet enabled us to overcome. In the present instance Mr. Foresti acted as interpreter-general. At a first introduction it could not be expected that we should acquire much insight into the character of the Pacha: my own attention was directed chiefly to the contemplation of his countenance, and this is in general no index to his mind. Here it is

very difficult to find any traces of that blood-thirsty disposition, that ferocious appetite for revenge, that restless and inordinate ambition, that inexplicable cunning which has marked his eventful career: the mien of his face, on the contrary, has an air of mildness in it; his front is open; his venerable white beard descending over his breast gives him a kind of patriarchal appearance; whilst the silvery tones of his voice, and the familiar simplicity with which he addresses his attendants, strongly aid the deception. He appears as he is described by the animated bard,

————— ‘ A man of war and woes;

Yet in his lineaments ye cannot trace,

While gentleness her milder radiance throws .

Along that venerable face,

The deeds that lurk beneath, and stain him with disgrace.’

Childe Harold, p. 91.

“ Still, after very attentive consideration, I thought I could perceive certain indications of cruelty and perfidy beneath his grey eyebrows, with marks of deep craftiness and policy in the lineaments of his forehead; there was something sarcastic in his smile, and even terrible in his laugh. His address was engaging, his figure very corpulent, although it is said to have been graceful in his youth. As his stature is rather below the middle size, and his waist long in proportion, he appears to greatest advantage as we now saw him seated on the Divan, or on horseback.

“Soon after our entrance, some young boys, dressed in rich garments, with their fine hair flowing over their shoulders, presented us with pipes, whose amber heads were ornamented with jewels; others brought in coffee in small china cups with golden soucups. Our conversation was very desultory. The Vizier paid many handsome compliments to our country, assuring us that he should always feel happy whilst his territories afforded objects of curiosity and interest to his English friends. We assured him in return, that the theatre of his exploits would long continue to attract the regards, not only of the English, but of all other nations. Observing that I was somewhat incommoded by sitting close to an immense fire, piled up with logs of wood upon the hearth, he directed an Albanian attendant to place a large metal pan before me in lieu of a screen, saying, ‘Young men require no fire at all: when I was young, I lived upon the mountains in the midst of snows, and exposed to storms, and with my toupheki on my shoulder and my Albanian capote; but I never cared for the cold.’ He then turned to Colonel Church with an air of the greatest affability (for, whatever displeasure he may feel internally, he can mask it by the most complete veil of hypocrisy), and expressed his hopes that he would stay at least a month with him in Janina: then, addressing himself to us both, said he hoped he should see us fre-

quently ; adding in the true style of Oriental hyperbole, that his palace and all he possessed must be considered as our own."

When they had taken their leave, the Vizier conducted them himself to the gallery, or external balcony of the palace, where he stood a considerable time to view his officers amusing themselves in the great area at the exercise of the Djereed, which is thus described: "This is a species of sham-fight between two parties mounted on horseback, who hurl at each other sticks of a moderate thickness, and about a yard in length. They advance in a gallop with loud outcries, bring their steeds in a moment to a dead stand, hurl their pointless darts with incredible dexterity, start off again at full speed, wheel round, or avoid the blow of their adversary by reclining at full length over the bow of the saddle. The bustle and activity of the scene is indescribable. The Turk, in proportion to his general supineness, is the more violent in exertion when he is once put in motion, and his blood in circulation: he then appears like a horse which runs away blindly in all the wildness of ungovernable fury. Neither is this exercise entirely free from danger: they are frequently unhorsed, and sometimes the loss of a combatant's eye or tooth, or a broken rib, attests the skill and strength of his adversary's arm. But nothing is so amazing as the dexterity acquired by the horses: these sagacious and docile animals are taught to stop, or to start off

at full speed, to turn round in the most confined space, to deflect from their course for the purpose of avoiding the weapon, and to gallop in the most intricate figures: they seem actually as if they could penetrate the very intentions of their rider.

“*Quid cupias ipsi scire videntur equi.*”

On the 10th of Feb. 1814, Messrs. Parker and Hughes (the two other travellers having quitted Janina) received from Ali an invitation to accompany him to a fête which was to be given by Signor Alessio, and to dine at his own table. To this honour he had never before admitted any foreigner, except the present Lord Guilford: even Sir John Stuart and General Airey, Governor of the Ionian Isles, though invited to a dinner, were seated at different tables apart from the Vizier.

Signor Alessio, the principal Greek in Janina, enjoyed in the highest degree the favour of the Vizier; but it had cost him great sacrifices. His father had been chiefly instrumental in his elevation to the Pachaship; and he recompensed the son by making him Governor of the district of Zagori, containing forty-eight towns and villages, over which Alessio possessed an almost absolute power, and from which he derived a princely revenue. Such was his influence, that the principal inhabitants of Janina attended his levee, nor could he have been more respected had he been the Pacha. He was to be seen every

day, parading through the streets and public promenades, on a beautiful white charger, richly caparisoned: his suite was composed of young men belonging to the principal Greek families. All those who knew Ali's capricious character augured ill of this ostentation. But Signor Alessio followed the old maxim: he availed himself of the present moment, endeavoured to maintain himself in the good graces of his master, and sacrificed one part of his fortune to preserve the other. Previously to inviting the Pacha, he had presented him with a complete service of plate, of the newest fashion, and manufactured at Vienna; and to the women of his harem had sent superb presents, as is always the custom when Ali does a subject the honour of dining at his table.

With a Chiaoux for their attendant the two Englishmen set off, accompanied by their host, and on their arrival found "all the approaches to Signor Alessio's mansion, as well as the court and galleries, crowded with Albanian guards and others in the Pacha's train. The rooms were brilliantly lighted up, and the clang of cymbals, drums, and Turkish instruments of music, denoted the presence of a potentate. We stopped for a short time in a large anteroom, where the Vizier's band was playing to a troop of dancing boys, dressed in the most effeminate manner, with flowing petticoats of crimson silk, and silver clasped zones round the waist: they were revolv-

ing in one giddy and interminable circle, twisting their pliant bodies into the most contorted figures, and using the most lascivious gestures, throwing about their arms and heads like infuriated Bacchanals, and sometimes bending back their bodies till their long hair actually swept the ground.

“As we entered into the banqueting-room, we observed the Vizier, seated, as usual, at a corner of the Divan, upon cushions of rich silk. Next to him sat a Turkish nobleman, named Mazout Effendi, one of the most venerable men I ever beheld, with a long white beard hanging over his breast, that exceeded even the Vizier's by at least six inches. This old gentleman lived at Constantinople, but generally came to spend a few months of the year with Ali, being a vast favourite on account of his convivial propensities. Below Mazout sat the Archbishop of Janina, with the two Etropi, or Greek primates; so that the whole party, with ourselves, made up seven, the exact number of the Platonic *symposium*. Signor Alessio, the owner of the mansion, coming out from the midst of a crowd of Greeks who stood at the lower end of the Divan, advanced with us towards the Vizier, who received us with every mark of civility, and motioned us to sit down upon the sofa at his right hand. He then ordered Signor Psallida to act as interpreter, who came up with a face decked in smiles, and reverently kissed the hem of his master's garment, in token

of submission to his commands. Ali was evidently in extreme good humour, and dealt out his jokes and sallies of wit profusely, which of course produced peals of laughter. After the lapse of about half an hour, the lady of the house came forward with a silver pitcher and ewer, and a finely embroidered napkin thrown over her arm: having advanced to the Vizier, and made her obeisance, she poured out warm water into the basin, with which he washed his hands, turning up his loose sleeves for that purpose, and washing half-way up to the elbow. After he had finished his ablution, the water was brought to us and to the other guests. The Vizier now motioned us to draw round a circular tin tray which had been scraped bright for the ceremony; and we accordingly ranged ourselves at his Highness's right hand, upon rich velvet cushions, several of which were placed one upon another for our accommodation: on his left sat Mazout Effendi, the rest of the space being filled by the Archbishop and the Primates. Rich scarfs were now thrown over our shoulders, and napkins placed before us, so embroidered with gold as to serve for no earthly purpose but that of decoration: a fine silken shawl being laid upon the Vizier's knees, he courteously spread it out, and extended it to Mr. Parker and myself.

“ Before dinner, a dessert, or *antecœnium*, was placed upon the table, consisting of apples, dried

fruits, and sweetmeats. After some of the party had nibbled an almond or swallowed a raisin, this quickly disappeared, and a tureen of thick soup was placed by the mistress of the family before the guests: into this the Vizier dipped his wooden spoon, and was followed by the rest of the company. Next came a roasted lamb, brought in by a servant, to which all fingers round the table were immediately applied, stripping the meat from off one side till the ribs were fairly exposed to view. I ought to observe, that in deference to our customs, knives and forks were placed before the Englishmen, which, however, they thought proper to dispense with as much as possible. The lamb was followed by a brace of partridges, which the Vizier took up in both his hands, and placed one upon Mr. Parker's plate and the other upon my own, as a token of extreme condescension: scarcely, however, had they lain there a moment, than they were snatched up by the dirty fingers of the bare-legged Albanian guards who stood around us. This, however, was done merely to relieve us from the trouble of carving, for when they had pulled them limb from limb, they very carefully and respectfully replaced them on our plates. It was the same with the poultry. The liquor drunk at this entertainment was wine, which several beautiful youths from the Vizier's seraglio stood to pour out from pitchers into glass goblets. For two hours, different dishes, to the

number of eighty-six, were placed singly before the guests, in a varied succession of roast and boiled meats, fish, stews, pastry, game, and wild fowl, &c. until the dessert again appeared. In the mean time the Ganymedes had not been idle with their pitchers and goblets, and Signor Alessio supplied them with his best *quadrimum*. Old Mazout had once or twice during dinner shewn symptoms of the Bacchic fury rising within him; by throwing open a sash window behind the Divan, and joining in chorus with the Albanian band that was playing and singing in the ante-room. The Vizier, however, now ordered him to be plied with larger and more frequent goblets; and, as he is very fond upon these occasions of seeing every one around him inebriated, he commanded the crowd of Greeks to advance from the lower end of the room, and to drink like fishes.

“The fumes of the wine began at length to operate so strongly upon old Mazout, that his tongue seemed resolved to make amends for the silence to which it had previously been doomed: he sang droll songs in the Turkish language, exerted his lungs in the most violent shouts, rolled about the Divan, and, throwing off his turban, exhibited his bare head to view, whilst the spectators, and especially the Vizier, were convulsed with laughter. Soon afterwards he called the dancing-boys into the room, and snatching a tambourine from the hands of their leader, jump-

ed and capered about, beating the instrument like an ancient Silenus. In the midst of this interlude, however, Mazout several times ran up to Ali, caught him with his arms round the neck, and almost suffocated him with embraces, kissing him on the forehead and bosom, and addressing him with expressions of the most fond attachment. From the Vizier he ran off again to the dancing boys, and at last seizing their Coryphæus, or leader, he nearly stifled him with caresses; then, dragging him up to the Divan, he coaxed Ali to give him a handful of small gold coins, which he wetted with his spittle, and stuck like spangles over the boy's face.

“When the dancers had quitted the room, the toasts began to circulate with great rapidity, all of which were drunk in full bumpers. Ali gave the health of the Prince Regent and the Royal Family of Great Britain; in return for which we drank to the prosperity of his house and dynasty, and to the immortal memory of Pyrrhus, his heroic ancestor.

“The Greeks who surrounded the Vizier, drank bumper after bumper, at the same time kissing the hem of his robe. Some time before, old Mazout began to be very impatient, and at length commenced a humorous song, which, alas! he was unable to finish; for, unfortunately overbalancing himself in one of his outrageous attitudes, he fell off the sofa, and rolled under the

table. Whilst he lay there, the Greeks seeing how the Vizier was inclined, began to play all sorts of practical jokes upon each other, till at length the noise and confusion roused old Mazout Effendi from his trance; for, starting up in a species of delirium, he thrust his hand and arm through the sash-window behind him. The joke seemed to be relished; for his example was followed by Alessio and the other Greeks, till at length every window in the apartment was demolished amid the loud laughter of Ali and the Bacchanalian triumph of the Effendi.

“ When this work of destruction was finished, Ali gave the signal for breaking up the party, and silence immediately succeeded to the yells which, a few minutes before, would have astounded an Indian war-tribe. The Greeks now retired to the bottom of the room, the pitcher and ewer with warm water were again introduced, and the customary ablutions performed; then several guards entered, and preceded the Vizier with long wax tapers to the head of the staircase, where he stopped a few minutes, asked for his English friends, and took a very courteous leave of us. At the outer door, in the area, stood several hundreds of his Albanian retinue, with a fine Arabian charger richly caparisoned. Vaulting into his saddle, he set off in a gallop towards the seraglio of Litaritza, followed by his motley crew, shouting, waving their torches, and running at full speed to keep up with their chief.”

“The next day,” continues Mr. Hughes, “we thought proper to call and pay our respects to the Vizier after the extraordinary civilities we had received. We found him at his seraglio of Litaritza, in his favourite little Albanian room, the only one in which we ever saw him more than once. His prime minister was with him, named Mahomet Effendi, a silly old man, who studies astrology and occult sciences, and thinks himself gifted with inspiration. It would be well if he were content to pronounce oracles upon science and politics; but he is withal a violent bigot, and is ready upon all occasions to execute the most horrid commands of his despotic ruler.

“The dress of the Vizier, both now and at other times, appeared costly, but never gaudy: his magnificence shone rather, in the brilliants that actually covered the walls of this apartment.” He is extremely fond of thus concentrating his wealth into a small compass. A little before our arrival in his dominions he had purchased six pearls, said to be the largest in Europe; and since our departure he has bought a diamond of the ex-King of Sweden at the price of 13000*l.*, which, with a number of others, he has had formed into a star, in imitation of one which he saw upon the coat of Sir Frederick Adam: this he now wears upon his breast and calls it ‘his order.’

“He was in such good humour this day, that he would not suffer us to depart when we had finished our first pipe, but ordered a second, and a third.

He spoke freely upon the reverses of Bonaparte, informed us of the defection of Murat from the French cause, and called for a very fine Turkish map of Europe, that we might point out to him the geographical situation of the armies at this time contending about the liberties of the world. He appeared very ignorant, like all the Turks, in geography, not knowing where to look for Malta, or even for Ancona, which it behoved him to know, as an important sea-port opposite to his own coasts—

“*Dalmaticis obnoxia fluctibus Ancon.*”

Our conversation chiefly turned upon the great military events at this time pending: he seemed well aware of the tottering power of the French emperor, and he spoke of his own wars as petty actions in comparison with the extensive operations of the great continental armies.”

About this period*, Ali ordered strong detachments of Albanian troops to march from the provinces to Janina, where he reviewed them in person in a large enclosure adjoining to his great kiosk. There were no military evolutions performed, the review being confined to a roll-call. Soldiers who were in want of money with which to buy arms or equipments, or those to whom arrears of pay were due, were permitted to pre-

* February 1814.

sent their petitions, or to address their complaints *viva voce* to the Vizier, who was seated with his secretary by his side, having vast heaps of money before him. Amongst all this assemblage of different troops, the most remarkable were the Mirdites, the most warlike of all the Albanian tribes. They inhabit the borders of the Pachaship of Scodra, and can send ten thousand men into the field. Their language is full of Latin and Italian words : they wear the red shawl and the Tancredi vest, and profess the Roman Catholic religion.

Ali hastened his levies as much as possible. The events which marked the decline of Bonaparte's power, enabled him to foresee that the French would soon be compelled to abandon Albania ; and that England, either by force of arms or by treaty, would remain mistress of the Ionian Archipelago. Ali immediately resolved to seize Parga, that solitary rock, the only spot along the whole extent of his dominions which was gladdened by the cheering rays of liberty. Certain that neither the French Consul nor General Donzelot were to be seduced by his offers to deliver up a Christian population then under the protection of the French flag, he determined to essay one of those prompt and daring enterprises for which he was so celebrated. Once in possession of Parga, he would not want the means of justifying his conduct, and appeasing any

angry feelings it might have created. Unautho- rized by the Porte, then at peace with France, and without any formal declaration of war, Ali marched his troops against Parga. Thus, at the moment when Bonaparte, pressed on all sides, was still gaining victories in the plains of Cham- pagne, Ali was one of the first to advance and wrest from him a small corner of his great empire.

From the heights of Janina, the plain and the mountains might be seen covered with Albanian troops, all proceeding to the general rendezvous at Preveza. Ali himself set forward in his old German calash, escorted by five hundred Pa- likars, and followed by his household and Reine Vasiliki, the dear object of his affections, from whom he never separated. Upon his departure he conferred the duties of Vice Pacha, or Cai- macan, upon his son Mouctar, who daily assem- bled the Divan or Council, over which the vene- rable Mahomet Effendi was president. But these counsellors, or rather these puppets, could come to no decisions without receiving Ali's sanction. Tartars, or couriers, were therefore in constant requisition for keeping up the communication be- tween the capital and Preveza. In the mean time the French Consul, who had witnessed the in- creased energy of Ali, and the magnitude of his warlike preparations, penetrated his intentions, and resolved to brave every danger that he might

insure the safety of that Christian population, whom France had protected during the last six years. Ali, who mistrusted the Consul, had secretly ordered Balouch-Bachi Tahir Abas to assassinate him should he attempt to quit Janina. Although subjected to the strictest *espionage*, the Consul succeeded in transmitting to Corfu, as well as to Parga, intelligence which put the French and the Parganiotes upon their guard against an unexpected attack. Whilst, therefore, the Vizier advanced in the hope of surprising the town, or of finding it defenceless, its inhabitants were perfectly aware of his march and plans.

On the 28th of February, his troops, to the number of five thousand Albanians, commanded by his lieutenants Mouhardar and Omer Bey Brioni, took Aja and Rapeza by storm: these were two frontier villages dependant upon Parga; part of their inhabitants were massacred, and the rest reduced to slavery. After having erected a small fort, Ali's troops advanced upon Parga. The Vizier had given orders, that, in the event of the city being taken, it should be delivered up to pillage, and all its inhabitants who were found in arms should be put to death, with the exception of some who were to be reserved for slavery.

The Parganiotes, full of confidence in the French garrison who occupied the citadel, took the field early in April, resolved to defend their

country. They took up a position which gave them the advantage-ground, and afforded them the means of a retreat. Being vigorously attacked by the Vizier's troops, and charged by his cavalry in a narrow causeway which led to the town, after several discharges of musquetry they retreated into the lower town; their retreat being covered by seventy French grenadiers, commanded by Colonel Nicole. Scarcely had the Albanians, elated with their success, penetrated into this part of the town, than the French and Parganiotes fell upon them with the greatest fury. The combat was not long; being completely routed, the soldiers of Ali fled, leaving the streets filled with their dead and wounded. The bodies of one hundred and eleven Albanians, and four Bim Bachis or Chilarqui, attested their defeat.

All hope of taking the town, defended by a French garrison, and by a citadel well fortified and provisioned, was now abandoned; and Ali's generals, covered with confusion, retreated with the greatest expedition. Ali, accompanied by the English Resident, had just arrived at Preveza, when the news reached him that his troops had been defeated, and had retreated to the lower town of Parga. Feeling that the prey which he had so long coveted was now wrested from him, he became frantic with rage, and rolled on his sofa, alternately crying like a child, and roaring like a wild beast. "What!" cried he, "Parga,

defended only by sixty Frenchmen, victorious!" After this paroxysm, he humbled himself so far as to clasp the knees of Mr. Foresti, while, bursting into tears, he entreated him to prevail upon the English to assist in a fresh attack against Parga, whose inhabitants it was his intention to put to the sword without mercy. Far from acceding to his wish, the English Resident, like a man of honour, arranged with General Campbell, that, in the event of Parga being evacuated by the French, the English troops should take military occupation of it, and guarantee the political existence of the Parganiotes against the designs of Ali.

Having been informed of what was taking place at Parga, General Andreossi, the ambassador at Constantinople, fearing lest the French Consul might have been assassinated, as was reported, desired that the Divan would instantly despatch a Capidgi-Bachi, for the purpose of ascertaining whether M. Pouqueville was still in existence. These proofs of powerful protection put a stop to Ali's persecutions of the Consul, whose conduct had recently received a very flattering testimonial: the Ionian senate had passed a decree, voting him the unanimous thanks of that body.

Notwithstanding their late victory, the Parganiotes trembled at seeing the troops of the Pacha, so numerous and active, remain upon their territory; while the French remained in total inaction. Their magistrates, thinking to obtain a more effi-

cacious, or at least a more permanent protection, secretly betook themselves on board the English squadron, to prevail upon its commander to seize Parga by a *coup-de-main*. They were referred to General Campbell, Governor of the Ionian Isles, who immediately sent Sir C. Gordon with a detachment of troops, under convoy of two frigates. A plan was immediately organized for gaining possession of the fortress. The tolling of a bell was to be the signal for the conspirators. A dark night having favoured the landing of the English, they advanced, conducted by the Archonte, at the sound of whose voices all the gates were thrown open.

At that instant the conspirators fell upon the sentinels, and having disarmed them, succeeded in gaining an entrance into the fortress. The French soldiers were taken by surprise, and Colonel Nicole's first salutation upon being awaked was the point of a bayonet against his breast. The warriors of the two rival nations were equally astonished—these at their own success, and those at a surprise which they still could scarcely think real. One man only was killed. The French were not considered as prisoners of war, but were conveyed over to Corfu, and the tri-coloured standard was replaced on the rock of Parga by the British Union.

This event, which deferred the period of Ali Pacha's hope, did not, however, appear to him

unfavourable; as he imagined it would be much more easy for him to obtain Parga from England, than to wrest it from the hands of the French.

Upon his return to Janina, the Vizier, always occupied with the thoughts of extending and strengthening his power, resolved to expatriate those tribes of Epirus whose fidelity he suspected, or who had provoked his anger. The Acroceraunians, whom he most mistrusted, were the chief objects of his vengeance. As they offered no resistance, Ali could find no pretence for their extermination; his only plan, therefore, was to expatriate them *en masse*. This unhappy people sent a deputation of its elders, to entreat that they might be permitted to die in their native land, and Ali himself presided at a Divan to hear their petition. All but the inexorable Ali were moved by their pathetic eloquence, for it was the eloquence of the heart: he alone, stern and implacable, pronounced the fatal negative, and would not even allow them to remain till the spring. His troops marched amid their mountains, and drove off like so many cattle, men, women, and children, young and old, amidst all the inclemencies of a severe winter. Convoys and relays were everywhere in readiness for transporting the baggage, &c. as if it had been an emigration on the approach of an enemy. Peaceful husbandmen were driven from their paternal acres; mothers, young maidens, and

children, were torn from their domestic hearths; venerable old men, loaded with years and infirmities, were dragged along to be transported into Aidonia, near the rice-fields of the Acherusian marsh, where they had been promised huts and villages. Whilst these were thus quitting the tombs of their ancestors, part of the Christian population of Preveza, a town the peculiar object of Ali's hate, arrived from the south of Epirus; and whole tribes of Thessaly and Macedonia were transplanted, like so many herds of cattle, to repeople a country devastated and laid waste by the most vindictive of men.

Since the total destruction of Gardiki, no tribe, no Bey, no Aga, had dared to dispute the will of Ali. The sight of this town, formerly so flourishing, now suddenly changed into a desert, the solitude of which no earthly footstep ever disturbed, awakened in the mind mingled sensations of horror, pity, and indignation. At every step the eye was arrested by an immense heap of ruins, for the vengeance of its direful foe had not even spared the temples of his God. One minaret alone was standing. The silent and deserted streets, the deep solemnity of the thousand graves, and the speechless lamentations of this ill-fated town for its still worse fated population, make the soul recoil with horror when it reflects that this was the work of *man*. Desolation, the work of the Vizier of Janina, every where presented itself:

the ruins of public and private edifices, prison-doors broken open, whole streets crumbled into dust or reduced to ashes,—and for inhabitants, savage jackals, or dogs become almost wild, who, with mournful howlings, bemoaned their wretched masters, and seemed to implore the pity of man,—was all that now remained of the once flourishing, the once happy Gardiki.

Master of all its territory, Ali still found himself straitened. He united the forty villages of Zagori, by the title of Tchiftlik, to his Viziership, in order to form an inheritance for his third son, Sely Bey. In vain did their chiefs implore, in vain did they represent that they had been proprietors from time immemorial; the principles of justice were disregarded, and more than five thousand families, deprived of their just possessions, were attached to the glebe in quality of serfs. Ali, however, had before him a recent example of the fall of a great power which had made itself despotic.

The changes which took place in France, in 1814, having caused the suppression of the French consulate at Janina, M. Pouqueville, being promoted to that of Patros, made his arrangements for passing into Peloponnessus. A few days before he took leave of Ali Pacha, he gave him a grand dinner: this entertainment, to which he had invited himself (probably in token of reconciliation), opened the Consul's doors to the inhabitants of

Janina, who for nine years had not dared to visit him, except in secret, or with the Vizier's permission: the Consul now received visits from the most distinguished individuals. He quitted Janina on the 28th February, bearing with him the esteem and regrets of its inhabitants.

Ali Pacha, the ally of the English, having no longer any cause of contention with France, or of fear from Russia, who had just concluded a peace with the Ottoman Porte, without being either king or sovereign, reigned over a larger extent of country than Pyrrhus, or even Alexander himself, before he had conquered Asia Minor, and subdued Egypt and Persia. While at Preveza with his court, two English officers informed him of Bonaparte's flight; but this, he foresaw, would not materially affect his political security, not having any direct influence upon Turkish affairs. All his conjectures were realizing, when, at the commencement of January 1816, he received the visit of a dethroned king,—a visit which he owed entirely to his celebrity. Gustavus Adolphus, desirous of going to the Morea, there to await the firmans which were to permit his visiting Jerusalem, touched first at Corfu, then at Preveza, whence he repaired to the court of Ali, to whom he presented the sabre which had belonged to Charles XII. He was received by Ali with all the respect due to his misfortunes, and the supreme rank he once enjoyed.

These latter years were the most tranquil of Ali's existence. Free from domestic and foreign war, he was now at liberty to strengthen his iron rule over the Albanians, by means of a government better organized than any in the East. He saw his power and his treasures daily increase, nor did he lose sight of Parga, the avowed object of his ambition, when an unforeseen accident forced him from his peaceful state of happiness and prosperity.

The mother of Sely Bey, his third son, from being a Circassian slave, had now become his favourite: this lady, to whom he was extremely attached, resided in the grand seraglio which he had erected at Tepelini, on the site of his father's house. Her son had just been to pay her a visit, when suddenly, in the middle of the night (this was in 1818), the palace appeared enveloped in flames. In this moment of terror, which was increased by a violent storm of thunder, lightning, and rain, the mother of Sely Bey, and Ali's other women, endeavoured to escape from the harem: but were driven back again by the eunuchs their guards, who would rather they should perish by the flames, than be exposed to the looks of the profane; so inveterate are Mahometan prejudices. In this cruel extremity, they broke through the windows, and thus escaped. Nothing could stop the violence and progress of the flames. By the next day scarcely a vestige remained of the mag-

nificent palace built by Ali to the memory of his ancestors.

So great was the terror of his officers at the rage into which they knew the intelligence would throw him, that they announced the misfortune as having been caused by lightning, taking the utmost precaution to prevent his suspecting any other cause; for it was generally attributed to the carelessness of one of Seli Bey's attendants. Ali hastened immediately to Tepelini, where he had some consolation in finding that the cellars in which he kept his specie and precious jewels were untouched. The fire had even respected the great tower of the garden, which contained, as was supposed, the greatest part of his treasures. This tower was a large oblong building, consisting of three stories, having massive doors, of which Ali only had the keys.

Ali immediately conceived the project of rebuilding this edifice without its costing him a penny. He proceeded thus: he caused it to be generally reported throughout all his dominions, that the anger of Heaven had fallen upon him, and that Ali had no longer in the place of his birth an asylum in which he could lay his head. In his distress he invited those who were most faithful among his vassals to come to his assistance, and he named the day on which he would receive their offerings. The day having arrived, Tepelini was filled with an immense

crowd, assembled from all parts of Albania, each anxious, for his personal safety, to be the foremost in presenting his reputed voluntary contribution. At the outer door of the burnt seraglio, Ali appeared seated on an old mat, his legs crossed, and his head uncovered, holding the red Albanian bonnet destined to receive the extorted alms of his subjects. Many of his adherents, who were too poor for him to expect any thing from them, had secretly been furnished with considerable sums, which they brought as a voluntary gift; an example of zeal which every Bey or Pirmate was emulous to follow. Did the offering fall short of Ali's expectations? He was seen to compare it with that of those who, he said, had deprived themselves even of the necessaries of life, to give him a proof of their devotion and attachment. "Take," said he, "take back your money; keep it for your own wants; what advantage can such a trifle be to Ali, the victim of celestial wrath?" This was sufficient—the presents were doubled, nay, tripled at these words; and by this well acted farce Ali obtained a sum much more considerable than was required for rebuilding his magnificent seraglio.

Another anecdote is also related of him still more remarkable, and one in which his firmness of character and self-command is shewn to greater advantage. In 1813, whilst he was observing the repairs which his old seraglio of the Castron, at

Janina, was undergoing, a large stone fell from the scaffold upon his shoulder, and struck him down. He was thought to be dead, and the report was immediately spread; but Ali, although severely wounded, mounted his horse almost the next moment, and rode through the town, attended only by a single Albanian; nor did he permit the least symptom of pain to escape him; he was, however, obliged to keep his bed for several weeks after. Upon his recovery, he said he had acted thus to shew his people that he was in no danger, as well as to deprive his enemies of the gratification of thinking that he was dying.

Among the numerous traits which characterize Ali Pacha, the greater part of which are so unfavourable to him, a few might be quoted on the bright side of the picture. Such is the one we are now about to relate. The chiefs of the district of Zagori, under the pretext of raising a tribute of 190,000 piastres for Ali, which, in fact, he had not required, had exacted considerable sums from the people under their government. Ali had them all cited before him, and ordered them to restore to each individual what they had taken from them; this done, he complimented them ironically upon their zeal for his interests, and ordered them to pay out of their own funds the tribute of 190,000 piastres which they had arbitrarily imposed upon their fellow-citizens.

Ali was now on the point of obtaining the ac-

complishment of his wishes; but, arrived at the highest point of power he was permitted to attain, he was also about to tread the slippery downhill of his ruin. Parga, the unfortunate Parga, which he had never lost sight of, was about to fall into his power.

The Acropolis of Parga rises on the western extremity of Cape Chimerium, and gives its name to a canton of Epirus, which, though of small extent, preserved its liberty amidst the universal slavery of Greece till the year 1819. Situated on a barren rock, about a mile in circumference, Parga is surrounded on three of its sides by the sea. The only entrance into this fortress is by an opening made in an angle of the rock which forms the neck of the Peninsula. The territory annexed to Parga, the only portion of Greece which now remained free, is surrounded on the side of Threspotia by the chain of Mount Penzovolos, or mountains of Epervier. This semicircle, resembling a theatre, of which Parga forms the proscenium, comprehends an extent of about fifteen miles, and extends in breadth about three miles from the sea to the Turkish frontier. The upper regions of the mountains present nothing but sterility and barrenness: at their centre some few tufts of trees are seen; but at their base groves of orange, lemon, and cedar-trees, diffuse around their fragrant odours, and descend into a picturesque valley, where they become grouped

with the olive-trees, and form gardens and bowers for ever verdant, which extend to the suburbs of the town itself. It was in 1401 that the Parganiotes, to emancipate themselves from the Turkish yoke, had recourse to the protection of Venice, then in possession of the Ionian Archipelago. Venice, finding the Christians had fled to this island, declared herself their protectress, and sheltered beneath her victorious standard the rock of Parga, which had now become the asylum of the Christian families who fled from the tyranny of the Infidels.

Parga alone, during a thirty years' war, had escaped the victorious arms of Ali Pacha, Vizier of Epirus. At first ceded to the Ottomans by a special treaty, it was its subsequent fate to be taken and retaken by several powers, till at length the English became possessed of it in the manner we have already related. For three years Parga remained under her powerful ægis, and it was considered as forming a part of the Ionian Heph-tarchy. Apparently sheltered from all political storms, agriculture and rural labours there found encouragement and success. On the other hand, the name of Parga had been omitted in the treaties of Paris and Vienna, which had placed the Septinsular Republic under the protection of Great Britain. Besides, it could scarcely be imagined that the ambition of Ali Pacha would remain inactive because he could not obtain Parga by force

of arms, or by surprise. In this case, as in so many others, his gold was omnipotent at Constantinople. The Porte demanded Parga as the price of her consent to the occupation of the Seven Isles by the English; and a treaty, which remained for some time secret, contained a clause which delivered over to the despotism of Ali the sole spot of ancient Greece which had preserved its liberty and independence.

The deference of the English for the tyrant of Epirus was unbounded. Without having been vanquished, without having struck a single blow in defence of their liberty, the Parganiotes found themselves compelled to submit to conditions as hostile to morality as to religion. What could they expect from Ali Pacha but the dishonour of their families, or the most ignominious and cruel punishments? The bloody sacrifice was about to be consummated: Parga was given up to Ali Pacha.

At the very first intimation of this dreadful intelligence, which was communicated in the month of March 1818, the whole population of Parga repaired to the altar of the Virgin, the protectress of a town built under her auspices. Men, women, and children, young and old, mingling their voices with those of their pastors, with heavy sighs thus addressed the venerated image: "Oh Thou, who for so long hast been our protectress and guardian, desert not now thy chosen children. When abandoned by the whole Christian world, do thou

deign to save us, and work a miracle in our behalf. Thy altars shall for ever smoke with incense, and our children's children, in ages yet to come, shall attest thy goodness and our gratitude!" After this prayer, every family repaired to their burial-place, and, opening the tombs, removed the bones of their ancestors. Thus bearing with them the remains of those whose memory was so dear to them, the Parganiotes retired to their citadel with these sad relics, determined, if they were sacrificed, to bury themselves under its ruins.

They declared their rights, they demanded a guarantee, and, flattering themselves with the validity of their claims, they at first thought that a powerful protection (that of Russia) would be exerted in their favour. They were deceived: the decree was irrevocable.

It is true, it was stipulated that all the Parganiotes who emigrated should be indemnified for the loss of their possessions. Every means was employed to prevail upon the mass of the population to submit to the dangerous enemy who wished to become their sovereign. Useless endeavour! Thirty years experience had enabled them to form a just estimate of Ali's character. They unanimously declared, that, if the decree were inevitable, they would go and beg their bread in foreign lands sooner than allow themselves to be massacred in cold blood by a tyrant

who had sworn to immolate the last of the Parganiotes to his bloody and implacable vengeance.

The first estimate was now made of public and private property; and about 400,000*l.* was considered as a just equivalent for a well-built town, containing four thousand citizens, besides its villages, extending about twenty miles round, the inhabitants of which were still more numerous. Eighty-one thousand feet of olive-plantations enriched a soil the most fertile perhaps ever known, and yielded the finest oil of the Levant.

Even at this price, however, the Parganiotes consented to abandon their native country, the tombs of their ancestors, their sacred temples, and all that renders the name of *country* so dear to man; but Ali Pacha thought it unreasonable that he should be obliged to purchase a town which he pretended was his by right. Agents were despatched to Janina; a long and tedious negotiation was set on foot with Ali, who endeavoured to spin it out as long as possible, in hopes that, by temporizing, he should find some opportunity of seizing his prey. Other commissioners were now appointed to make a fresh estimate. Ali surrounded all the frontier of the Parganiotes with his troops, and made a last effort to sow dissension among them, and to introduce into the town a certain number of his creatures, for the purpose of terrifying the inha-

bitants by the most dreadful menaces of vengeance, if they did not submit to his authority; but their vigilance and resolution disappointed all his endeavours.

At length appeared the new estimate. It did not exceed 140,000*l.* sterling, and after various delays, during which all the remonstrances made to the Vizier were answered by threats, preparations were at length made for the evacuation of Parga, which was to take place on the 10th of April, 1819. Before this time, the Parganiotes were informed of the approach of Ali's troops, who advanced to take possession of the town. At this intelligence, the blackest despair seized every heart. They flew to arms, and unanimously swore to die for their country, should the public enemy appear before the time appointed for the fatal emigration. The Parganiotes, disinterring from their place of rest the bones of their ancestors, and of families now extinct, placed them upon a funeral pile constructed with olive-trees, the produce of their paternal soil: with one accord they also resolved to destroy their wives and children, should the Mahometans contaminate with their hated presence a town which ought to be deserted ere they entered. An English officer was the bearer of this determination to General Maitland, the governor of Corfu; and at the same time declared to him, that, unless a stop were put to the march of Ali's troops, the noble example of Sa-

guntum would be imitated in the face of all Christian Europe. The messenger soon returned accompanied by General Adam, and upon entering the port, that officer perceived the flames of the funeral pile, which were consuming the bones, the bodies, and the coffins of those happy Parganiotes who had not lived to witness the destruction of their liberties. The English General landed in sight of the Primates, preceded by their Protopapas, who received him with respect mingled with resignation, at the same time announcing to him that their determination would be immediately executed, if he did not succeed in delaying the entrance of the Albanians. Suppressing the grief which nearly overcame him, he spoke a few words of comfort to them, ascended the town, and there saw the Parganiotes standing armed at the doors of their houses, awaiting only the signal for destroying their families. He conjured them to have patience, proceeded immediately to Ali's generals, and forced them to consent to the delay granted for the evacuation. The *Glasgow* frigate having arrived from Corfu, the embarkation commenced. Insensible indeed must that man be, who could witness without emotion the sight of these Parganiotes, of this warlike people, kneeling to kiss for the last time their natal earth, and bedewing it with their tears. It was by the light of the funeral flame which was devouring the remains of their ancestors, that they

set sail from the Cape of Chimerium. The greater part of these unfortunates sought refuge in Corfu, Paxos, and Hydria, where, no longer forming a nation, nor united by any tie either public or private, they lead a wandering and unsettled life, many of them even being without a refuge from misery and want.

When Ali's troops entered Parga, they there found nothing but solitude and silence: all life and motion seemed suspended: the houses were deserted, the bones of the dead consumed,—a nation was no more. The smoke, which still rose from the funeral pile, alone attested that the town had once been inhabited.

The perseverance with which Ali had for twenty years pursued his object, proves that he had very just views of his political interests. Parga, of no military importance in itself, and scarcely even capable of defence, presented an opening on the maritime frontier of Epirus, and a rendezvous for all the *Kleftes* in the neighbouring districts, who were certain of finding there an asylum against the troops to whom the maintenance of public tranquillity was entrusted.

Ali, upon visiting his new acquisition, was so struck with the beauty, fertility, and local advantages of Parga, that he no longer wondered at the obstinate resistance with which the Parganiotes had opposed him; but the possession of Parga, although it rendered him the master of all

continental Greece, from the frontiers of Attica to the mountains of Illyria, did not satisfy his insatiable ambition. The conquest of Middle Albania made him sigh after that of Scodra. He there kept in pay a party by whose cabals the young Moustai Pacha lived in a continual state of alarm.

The Vizier Ali Pacha, the favourite of fortune, may now be considered as having attained the *acme* of his prosperity. His sons and grandsons were all ennobled with high titles, and appointed to important offices; and although not one in reality, yet he might truly consider himself upon an equality with a sovereign in power and magnificence. Nor were flatterers wanting. At Vienna a poem had been written in his praise: a coat of arms was *found* for him by one well skilled in heraldry; it consisted of a *Lion in a field Gules embracing three young Lions*, the emblem of his dynasty. A grammar of the French and Greek languages had also been dedicated to him*, in which the titles of *high, puissant, and most merciful* were lavishly bestowed upon him. The author thus expresses himself in the dedication: *The earth, most illustrious prince, is full of the glory of thy name; the bright and dazzling fame of thy noble virtues has reached every ear.*

But the wheel of Ali's fortune had now reached its highest elevation, and, though its revolution

* By Michel Etienne Patzoulla de Cleisoura in Macedonia, printed at Vienna in 1815.

was not rapid, it was on the descent. Ali's fall was now slowly approaching. Aware of his critical situation, he refused the diadem; and, like Cæsar, repelled his imprudent friends, who for a long time had saluted him with the title of King. He had disdained to unfurl a particular standard, conceiving it inconsistent and ridiculous to risk losing solid advantages for vanities so futile. He often said, that, in wishing to be Viziers, his children would be his destruction; and when speaking of his own power, he frequently repeated this maxim: "A Vizier is a man covered with honours, seated on a barrel of gunpowder, which may be blown up by a spark."

Till this period, however, the Porte had tolerated every thing from one of the most dangerous of its Viziers, whether considered with respect to his geographical position, or his relations with foreign countries. Ali was growing old, and it was easily foreseen, that at his death the dissensions among his sons would replace under the Turkish sceptre this large portion of continental Greece, which might now be considered as detached from it. But what the Porte chiefly coveted, were Ali's immense treasures. It therefore awaited his death with an impatience which often degenerated into rancour and malice. The Porte also feared that, if he died a natural death, all his treasures would be either divided or distributed. With these views and feelings, but

without having conceived any precise plan against Ali, the Porte, by a singular concurrence of events, found itself suddenly connected with one of his bitterest enemies.

This man's name was Ismael Pacho Bey. Being placed by Ali Pacha near the person of his son Veli, as Selictar, he had followed him into the Morea, where he became his confidant, and the instrument of those tyrannical and oppressive acts which rendered his administration so hateful to the Moraïtes. Ali, whose resentment he had incurred, having proscribed him and confiscated his property, Pacho Bey endeavoured to sow discord between the father and son; escaping from the snares of the former, who had several times employed assassins to rid him of so enterprising and implacable an enemy. At length, pursued by the persevering hatred of the Vizier, after again narrowly avoiding assassination, he quitted the country disguised as a sailor, and travelled through the commercial sea-ports of Asia, and the different cities of Egypt. There, friendless, and without where to lay his head, he sheltered himself under the porticoes of the mosques, or laid among the beggars upon the warm ashes from the public baths. Wearied with dragging on so miserable an existence, he presented himself at the Court of Mouhamet Ali, Nazir of Drama, one of the richest and most magnificent princes of Thrace. He had the good

fortune to acquire his favour and protection. Ali Pacha, however, had traced him, and immediately procured a firman against him, the execution of which he entrusted to a Capidgi-Bachi; to escape whom, Pacho Bey was compelled to assume the dress of a Bulgarian monk. Under this disguise he was received into a Servian convent. In this manner these two men, alike fertile in expedients and cunning, contended, the one for the means of gratifying his vengeance, the other for those of saving his life. Ali having again discovered Pacho Bey's retreat, pretended to disgrace Athanasi Vaïa, who, assuming the robe of the Caloyers, as if for the purpose of undertaking a pilgrimage to Mount Athos, had formed a plan for getting access to Pacho Bey, in order to sacrifice him to the fury of the Vizier. The proscribed, upon the arrival of his pretended companion in misfortune, guessing his intentions, fled to Constantinople. It was there, in the capital of the empire, that he resolved openly to defy and combat his powerful enemy. For this purpose, Pacho Bey first sought out those of his ancient companions in arms who had been banished from Epirus, and associated himself with Demetrius Paleopulo, an Ætolian, another victim of Ali's tyranny; and who, placed under the protection of the French legation, had laid before the Porte a plan, shewing in all their details the means of subduing the Vizier of Janina. This

memorial had been presented to the Divan in the year 1812.

It has already been seen, that previously to that time Ali had only escaped the anger of the Porte and of France by means of a fortuitous concurrence of unforeseen events, which had averted the storm ready to burst over him. United by interest, and animated by a common hatred, Pacho Bey and Paleopulo reproduced the plan for the ruin of the Pacha's family. Pacho Bey guaranteed its success with his head; asserting, that, spite of the troops, the fortresses, and the resources of the Vizier, he would arrive before Janina without burning a match.

But this plan was not very agreeable to the ministers of the Grand Seignior, accustomed as they were to the presents and pensions of the modern Jugurtha. To so temporizing a cabinet it appeared more expedient patiently to await the inheritance of Ali's treasures, rather than accelerate the acquisition of them by open war.

Wearied out with these vain solicitations, Paleopulo was on the point of retiring into Russian Bessarabia, there to found a colony, when death with friendly hand put an end to all his troubles. Ere he resigned his last breath, the old Ætolian conjured Pacho Bey to persevere in his projects, assuring him that the house of Ali would soon be prostrate beneath his blows. "I

regret," added he, in dying accents, "I regret that I cannot be with you on the Driscos; the report of my large gun would soon recall Pa-leopulo to Ali's recollection." Resolved to follow the advice of his friend, whose last words appeared to him prophetic, Pacho Bey desisted from all memorials and plans of reform, and exclusively confined himself secretly to undermine the influence of Ali, by becoming the champion of all who had any complaints against the administration of the Vizier of Janina and his sons. He drew up their petitions, and got them presented to the ministers of the Porte, who were delighted to find fresh opportunities for *bleeding* the old Satrap, by promising to stifle the public cry for justice: all this, therefore, was ineffective. At length Pacho Bey succeeded in being personally recommended to the Grand Seignior, as a victim of Ali's tyranny. The Sultan wished to see him, took compassion on his misfortunes, and appointed him one of his Capidgi-Bachi, or chamberlains. Although this post was not now, as formerly, one of great importance, still the intelligence of such a promotion of Pacho Bey caused the greatest uneasiness and alarm to Ali Pacha. He immediately conceived what he had to fear from so formidable an enemy, who had now daily access to the Grand Seignior.

Possessing an elegant and commanding form, a physiognomy in which acute penetration was

softened by an insinuating smile, and gifted with the valuable talent of speaking with propriety and elegance all the languages peculiar to the Turkish empire, Pacho Bey was not long in advancing himself in the favour of his Sultan.

Notwithstanding, declining for the present to attack Ali Pacha openly, he used his whole influence against his son Veli, by exposing the distresses and grievances of Thessaly: the Sultan punished Veli, by confining him to the obscure post of Lepanto. By this blow, which struck the most powerful of his sons, the enemies of Ali were convinced that the father himself was not invulnerable. Ali, assured that so long as Pacho Bey had access to the Grand Seignior his interests must decline, resolved to terrify the Divan by one of those bold and decisive strokes, the success of which had hitherto always fulfilled his expectations. He easily found amongst his Albanians two Sicares willing to execute whatever he might command: these he despatched to Constantinople with orders to assassinate Pacho Bey. Having arrived at the capital of the Turkish empire; they proceeded to Pacho Bey's residence, and having desired to speak with him, the moment he appeared at the window they discharged their pistols at him. The balls whistled about his ears, but only wounded him slightly. The assassins immediately betook themselves to flight by the Adrianople road, but, a well-mounted de-

tachment being sent in pursuit, one of them was taken. At first he refused to own any thing; but, being put to the torture, he at length confessed that he and his companion had been paid by Ali Pacha to assassinate Pacho Bey. The assassin was then hung up, in front even of the imperial seraglio.

But the death of this wretch, far from allaying the inquietude of the Sultan and his ministers, convinced them that henceforth the public safety would be compromised so long as Ali had at his command Seides who would brave death to accomplish his wishes. The indignant Sultan wished at first to let fall the whole weight of his vengeance upon Ali, but he was persuaded to adopt a more prudent course. He appointed new governors to a great number of military positions bordering upon Albania, more especially to those which commanded the principal defiles, which till then had been exclusively filled by Ali's creatures. At length his destruction was determined upon in a secret council, and the sentence of *fermanly*, or of the imperial proscription, was pronounced against him, and ratified by a fetfa of the Mufti. Its tenor was as follows:—
“That Ali Pacha, accused of high treason, and who at different periods had received pardon of his delinquencies and felonies, should be placed under the ban of the empire, as a *relapse*, if he did not present himself within forty days *at the*

golden threshold of the gate of felicity, to plead in justification." At the same time his *capitch-oardars*, couriers, and all his agents were put in irons. Ali, little alarmed at the launching of this anathema against him, had recourse to the most formal supplication and denials. He accused his enemies of having conspired his ruin, and deceived the piety of the Grand Seignior. But neither his gold, though distributed with no sparing hand, nor the most urgent entreaties to be restored to favour, could avail him aught: the Sultan declared, that whoever should dare to speak to him in favour of Ali should lose his head.

His determination being fixed, a squadron was immediately fitted out, which, after the feast of *Rhamazan*, was to convey land-troops to the coasts of Epirus. At the same time all the chiefs of Romelia received orders to hold themselves in readiness to march at the commencement of spring, with the Spais and Timariotes of their different governments: a similar order was sent to the Roumili-Valisi, as well as to Moustai Pacha of Scodra; to Pehlevan-Baba, Pacha of Roustouk; and to Mouhamet Ali Pacha, Nazir of Thrace, whose daughter Pacho Bey had recently married. These last were ordered to assemble the contingents of Transaxian Macedonia. And, finally, it was decreed that Pacho Bey, designated Pacha of Janina and Delvino

by the right of *Arpalich*, or conquest, should take the chief command of the expedition directed against Ali Pacha.

The attempt to assassinate Ali Bey had been made at the commencement of February; and the month of March had now almost passed away, without a single soldier having been encamped in order to march into Albania. A complete change might still be effected in the measures of a government so subject to vicissitudes and revolts. Besides, the Sultan wished to make war without having to defray the expenses of it. Ali with his treasures might easily have bribed some of the Pachas, or of the great vassals, who were to march at their own expense against the Vizier, in whose ruin they had not all an equal interest. But Ali preferred the counsels of bold and enterprising men, who were anxious to execute the plans suggested at a different period by some English officers, which, however, were founded upon erroneous data of Ali's resources. They were as follows: to establish a camp near Caraveria, to occupy Tempe, seize Thermopylæ, entrust to the Vizier's three sons different corps stationed at these different points: in case of a reverse, to fall back upon Epirus, to maintain a strong garrison at Beru, in order to secure tranquillity in Higher Albania, and to keep the head-quarters at Janina, in order to be able to defend the line of fortresses. Such was the plan proposed to Ali by such of his

adherents who were anxious that he should act on the offensive. Considering it too colossal, he subjected it to some modifications.

Being declared *fermanly*, and summoned to surrender himself at Constantinople, to have appeared there would have been certain destruction. Ali, consequently, found himself in the forced situation of those rebels who, without any means of effecting a change in the government, are reduced to defend their own existence. Unable also any longer to trust to Mahometans, whom religious scruples attached to the cause of the Grand Seignior, he foresaw that the Turks of Larissa would declare against him, nor could he even calculate upon the fidelity of those of Epirus. Under these circumstances, he had recourse to the Christians of Armatolis, whose troops he could easily re-assemble by the tempting bait of booty and liberal pay. By this means he could organize a *guerilla* warfare, the better directed in as much as it would have Janina as a central point.

The different tribes of Northern Greece appeared to be still more devoted to him. At the least intimation of his wishes, the Archbishops, Bishops, Pachas, Cadis, and Aiens, still repaired to his court. All, upon the announcement of the danger which threatened him, seemingly redoubled their attachment to his person. He was weak enough to fancy himself beloved by his

people;—an expression which he substituted in conversation for that of *vassals* and *vassals*.

In the mean time, unwilling to trust too much to the chances of war, and, in fact, desirous of being reconciled to the Grand Seignior, he applied to his old friends the English. Having repaired to Preveza, he held a conference with one of their Generals, who was protector of the Sept-insular Republic; but his endeavour to obtain the mediation of the English was unsuccessful. They, however, consented to sell him arms and warlike stores, and even held out some hopes that they might perhaps succeed in preventing the Turkish squadron from appearing in the strait of Corfu. Ali, without being either dissatisfied or contented with the result of his application, retook the road to Janina, where he had scarcely arrived than he occupied himself in re-organizing the *Armatolis*. They appeared at his first summons. Ali, delighted at their zeal, appointed some of his most faithful officers to command them, and ordered them to disperse themselves without delay in the mountains of Thessaly.

To counteract these preparations of Ali, the Divan exerted all its influence to engage the *Kleftes* to declare against the outlaw of Epirus. Proclamations every where distributed called upon the Epirotes to detach themselves from the cause of a man who was about to inflict upon their country all the horrors of war. Ali, who had

foreseen that such attempts would be made, ordered his troops who occupied the defiles to kill without hesitation all bearers of despatches who had not an order signed with his own hand; and to forward to Janina all travellers who might endeavour to penetrate into Epirus. Determined at length openly to raise the standard of revolt, he gave the Greeks to understand that he was upon the point of embracing Christianity, and to the needy Turks he promised a share in the confiscation of the property belonging to the Agas; then, convoking what he called a Grand Divan to assemble about the beginning of May at the Castle of the Lake, he summoned the attendance of the principal Turkish and Christian chiefs, whose astonishment at thus meeting together was extreme. He opened the Divan by a speech, in which he strove to justify his government and conduct, boasted of the protection which he had granted the Greeks, and declared that he wished to assemble them all under his banners, that they might exterminate the Turks, their common enemies. Having then ordered a cask full of sequins to be emptied in the midst of the assembly, "This," said he, "is a part of that gold which I have so carefully preserved, the spoils of the Turks, your enemies—it is your's." Cries of "*Long live Ali Pacha! Long live the restorer of our liberties!*" were immediately raised by the needy adventurers who surrounded him.

The next day, May 24, appeared the proclamation or circular, which he had announced in the Grand Divan. It was conceived in these terms :

“ Happiness be with you. *I, Ali Tepelini,* salute you, my Christian brethren. I make known unto you, that having need of soldiers, you will do me a pleasure by raising (here is specified the number of each contingent). For this service your usual tribute shall be remitted. Let your contingents march forthwith to Janina, that they may be employed as occasion may require. Rely upon me as your firm friend. Farewell.”

Not confining himself to re-organizing the Armatolis, Ali despatched secret emissaries to the Montenegrins and Servians to engage them to revolt. His troops had already obtained some success near Vardar, and he was in intelligence with the new Pacha of Larissa. His enemies nowhere made their appearance, and the number of his soldiers daily increased. Elated with hope, he appeared animated with fresh courage; and being informed that Pacho Bey had boasted of arriving before Janina without burning a single match, he was so far blinded as to say, “ that henceforth he would not treat with the Grand Seignior till the Albanian army was encamped at Daoud Pacha,” a small town about eight leagues from Constantinople.

Time, however, crept on, and the Divan yet

vacillated, till at length, roused by the instance of the Grand Seignior himself, and stimulated by the temptation offered by the vast treasures of the proscribed Vizier, it commenced the necessary preparations for war. The Pacha of Larissa, who was already suspected, was replaced by Drama Mahomet Ali, father-in-law to Pacho Bey.

Couriers after couriers were despatched to hasten the junction of the contingents of Rometia, and a squadron was immediately equipped for sea. And lastly, the army of Drama Mahomet, which was directed against Ali Pacha, came to encamp in the plains of Philippi, where it gained considerable reinforcements. The new Pacha made his entry into Larissa amid the acclamations of the Janizaries, who had re-organized themselves since the departure of Veli Pacha. Scarcely had Drama Mahomet entered upon his new appointment, than he received the submission of a part of the Armatolis: a defection which obliged Ali to draw in the advanced posts which he had established at Chalista, Florina, and Castoria; these towns, as well as the Canloniates, had ranged themselves under the banners of the Roumili-Valisy. Thus the Vizier of Janina, ere a blow was struck, lost Cisaxian Macedonia, and Thessaly, as far as the defile of Gomphi. There Drama Mahomet awaited the arrival of Ismael Pacho Bey, conformably to the plan of campaign determined upon in the Divan.

The army also of Baba Pacha, which had been expected, now appeared at the entrance of Tempe, followed by the Kersales and other tribes of Mount Hemus. Invited by the inhabitants of Livadia, who had driven away the Vizier's troops, Baba Pacha marched upon Lepanto. At his approach, Veli Pacha sent by sea his liarem and all his moveables to Preveza, and abandoned Lepanto: he himself took the road to Janina. The report which he made to his father spoke only of present misfortunes, and of fear for the future: he did not conceal from him that the Turks wavered in their fidelity towards his family. Ali immediately disarmed all those who were in Preveza and Arta, and required hostages from the greater part of the Beys.

Mouctar, who had just returned from inspecting the Pachaship of Berat, entered Janina nearly about the same time as his brother. He was much more sanguine than his brother as to the chance of success. This contradiction in the reports of the two brothers considerably increased Ali's embarrassment as to the line of conduct he should adopt towards the Mahometans. Could he have depended upon his troops, his situation was by no means embarrassing. All his castles and fortresses, to the number of twenty-five, he had put into a complete state of defence. His artillery amounted to sixty-two mortars and four hundred pieces of cannon, chiefly brass, and

mounted as heavy guns. In his Castle of the Lake he had his field-pieces, with sixty mountain guns, and a considerable quantity of Congreve rockets. He was amply supplied with warlike stores; and in addition to all this, he had established a line of signals from Preveza to Janina, in order to be more speedily informed of the movements of the Turkish squadron.

The more the danger increased, the more did the public enthusiasm manifest itself in favour of Ali, by protestations of fidelity, as false as they were dishonourable; for the Turks, as well as Christians, without previous communication or concert, gave a fresh example of the dissimulation of a people fatigued and worn out with tyranny. Ali, thus deceived, never quitted his palace but amid public acclamations. He was seen at all hours, and in all places where his presence was necessary; at one time on horseback, at another carried in a litter, and sometimes seated on a bastion in the midst of the batteries, conversing with the workmen or with the soldiers, whom he daily inspected, and who emulated each other in the wish of gaining his approbation. So great was his ardour, that his physical strength seemed to triumph over the weight of years. Not only did he thus endeavour to excite the zeal and emulation, and rouse the courage of his adherents by his conversations and harangue, but he also judged it expedient to accommodate himself to

the general impulse of the age, and to the views of the numerous political intriguers who had repaired to his court. He announced his intention of granting a *charter* to the Epirotes. "A charter!" said the Turks to each other; "have we not our Alcoran? What! does the wretch mean, then, to alter the laws of the Prophet?" The Albanians were anxious to know if a charter would increase their pay. The Greeks alone cried out, while they laughed at the same time, "A charter! give us a charter!" Ali promised every thing; and his agent Colovo was instructed to pass over to Corfu, there to collect the elements of a political code for the use of the vassals of Epirus. He was accompanied in this mission by Constantine Monovarda, a rich merchant of Janina, who had hitherto been a perfect stranger to Ali's intrigues. Under cover of this mission, it is said that the two envoys of the rebel Satrap conveyed over to Corfu, as a place of security, a great part of their master's treasures. They then, merely for form's sake, set about compiling the charter: no very difficult task among the inhabitants of Corfu, who, during the last twenty years, had been successively gratified by the different prevailing powers with dozens of constitutions.

The envoys of Ali were fulfilling the object of their mission, when intelligence was received at Corfu of the arrival of a Turkish squadron in the Ionian Sea. They immediately hastened to cross

the strait, in order to reach Epirus; but, upon their landing, were instantly seized by the Tziamidés, who, upon the appearance of the Turkish squadron, had immediately revolted. Being taken on board the Turkish admiral, Colovo, who was recognized as being one of the confidants of the proscribed Vizier, was put in irons, and afterwards subjected to the torture. In the mean time Ismael Pacho Bey had just taken the field; he arrived upon the Vardar about the end of July, and no sooner was his war-cry raised, than the Dgedges and the Toskides took up arms against Ali Pacha. The warlike inhabitants of the mountains also, and the bards, who still celebrated the deeds of Scanderbeg, hastened to swell the ranks of Moustäi Pacha.

Moustäi having assembled all his hordes and unfurled his standard, passed the Drin, and was reinforced by a body of Merdites; and having seized Durazzo, took possession of the whole of Higher Albania, which he delivered from a swarm of Ali's adherents. Already reduced to the defensive on the side of Thessaly and Macedonia, at the first news of the defection of Higher Albania Ali contented himself with despatching his son Mouctar to take the government of Berat. He placed under his orders Sely Pacha, who was entrusted with the defence of Premiti, and with the care of covering the defiles of Pýrrhus as far as Cleïsoura. To Veli was given the command of Pre-

veza, which his father had embellished with seraglios, and fortified by strong military works. The defence of Tepelini was confided to Hustein Pacha, Mouctar's son. Tahir Abas, the old Satrap's minister of police, was appointed to guard Souli; part of Ali's treasures being concealed in a fort which Ali had recently erected there.

These dispositions having been made, Ali reserved for himself the defence of Janina, the centre of his operations. There he hoped that by dint of intrigues and money, and favoured by time and circumstances, he might still preserve his head. Having but little reliance upon his troops in general, which consisted of fifteen thousand chosen men, he appointed Omcr Bey Brioni their Seraskier, nominating as his lieutenants Mantho, one of his secretaries, and Alexis Noutza, Primate of Zagori. The army had orders to hold itself in readiness to occupy the defiles of Pindus, which, from the advance of the Turks, had now become the frontiers of Ali's territory.

In the interval young Moustai Pacha, who had advanced upon the Genusus; and at whose approach Avlona and Berat had opened their gates, received intelligence from Scodra that the Montenegrins had penetrated into his Pachaship. This diversion, which endangered the safety of his states, he attributed to Ali; and thinking

himself disengaged from the Porte, he marched rapidly towards Scodra. Upon the arrival of Mouctar Pacha at Berat, he learnt that the Dgedges had quitted the shores of the Apsus: he immediately occupied Elbassan and Croïa, informing his father at the same time of the retreat of Moustai Pacha. All was now congratulation at Janina. Pacho Bey, encamped between Haliaconon and the Vardar, did not advance; and the Turkish squadron, which had appeared in the Ionian sea, had sailed for the Morea. The storm now appeared to be clearing off: Epirus seemed to revive again.

The levies raised by Ismael Pacho Bey consisted of different hordes, amounting at the most to only twenty thousand men, and commanded by six Pachas, who had all marched into the field much against their inclinations. After having marched through Thessaly, he made his entry into Larissa at the moment when Moustai Pacha returned to Scodra. To fill up the chasm occasioned by his defection, Pacho Bey ordered the Roumili-Valisy to march upon Berat through the defiles of the Cantavian mountains. At the same time he despatched a courier to Baba Pacha, stationed at Salona, to urge him to recommence his offensive operations. Baba Pacha immediately began his march, took possession of Lepanto, Missolongui, and, without striking a blow, en-

tered Vonitza. His only anxiety now was to assist in the siege of Preveza, to defend which Veli had made the greatest preparations.

Whilst Baba Pacha was thus following up his success, the Turkish squadron re-appeared upon the Acroceraunian coasts. The Captain Bey having seized the port of Panormo, cast anchor there with his squadron, that he might rally the different tribes under the standard of the Crescent. Reinforced by a large body of insurgents, he took the fort Santi-Quaranta, the Castle of Delvino, Saint Basile and Butrinto, and cast anchor in the mouth of the Thyamis. There he concerted measures with the Tziamides for attacking Parga, the defence of which had been entrusted to Mehemet Pacha, the son of Veli. The naval armament appeared before Parga at the moment when the land-troops had commenced fighting near the fountain of Saint Tryphon. After a few broadsides, young Mehemet Pacha, accompanied by about thirty of his followers, descended from the citadel, embarked on board a felucca, and sailed towards the Captain Bey, to whom he surrendered at discretion. At this intelligence, the aged Ali tore his garments, and imprecated curses on the children of his race.

Already his son Veli was blocked up in Preveza, where, after having burnt the magnificent seraglio erected by his father, he only found

refuge in the citadel. Whilst these events were passing in the south of Epirus, Mouctar Bey, who had considered himself as having undisturbed possession of Berat, learnt the defection of the inhabitants of Canina, Avlona, and the northern part of the Chimera. Having but little reliance upon the fidelity of the Toskides, he hastened to abandon Berat, and to shut himself up in the citadel of Argyro-Castron.

Notwithstanding these reverses, Ali hoped to preserve at least his natural boundaries, which were the mountains of Pindus. His seraskier, Omer Bey Brioni, had established his head-quarters upon the plain of the Lingos, so that he might be able at the same time to defend the defiles of Macedonia and the passes of Pindus. Having under his command experienced troops, well paid and well armed, and being defended by formidable intrenchments, the chances of war were still in Ali's favour.

But Pacho Bey, abandoning for the present the pass of Zigori, threw himself suddenly into the defiles of Anovlachia. The defile of Cosnari might yet, however, be defended against him; but the secretary Matho, instead of marching to oppose him, passed over to his standard, at the same time informing Omer Bey Brioni of his defection. Brioni immediately quitted his camp, and marched with his division to join Pacho Bey, whom he found encamped upon the Driscos.

These examples of treason having been followed by Alexis Noutza, Ali, who had reckoned upon seventeen thousand men, suddenly found himself without generals and without an army.

Till then Pacho Bey, who had boasted of arriving in sight of Janina without burning a match, had kept his word with the Divan. A single affair of outposts, at Krienero, was all that had hitherto signalized a war which it had been prophesied would be so terrible. But now fortresses were to be attacked, strongly fortified both by nature and art, and defended by Ali in person, who was resolved to hold out to the last by every means which rage and despair could suggest. Ali had for a long time conceived the idea of defending himself in his fortresses, and of destroying Janina, which offered too many facilities for hostile approach. This determination he no longer concealed, as soon as he saw himself deserted by his army: a resolution which was strengthened and confirmed by the devotion of his adherents, who now rallied round him to the number of eight thousand at most.

His means of defence were formidable. From the bosom of the lake, the waters of which wash the inaccessible base of that part of the Pindus called Mount Mitchikeli, rises an isle containing seven monasteries and one village. These Ali had lately replaced by a fortress and magazines which contained his warlike stores. At the fur-

ther end of the *terra-firma*, which a navigable strait separates from the town, is a vast fortress overlooked by the Castle of the Lake, whence Ali commanded the entire range of Janina. These three castles, now become the refuge of the despot of Albania, were fortified with two hundred and fifty pieces of cannon. It is true, that, by the desertion of his army, he was reduced to the defence of his fortified capital; but he still remained master of the navigation of the lake, by means of a small squadron of gun-boats, manned by Greeks from Corfu.

As soon as the Turkish army was perceived encamped upon the Driscos, the inhabitants of Janina were only anxious to preserve their families and property from the greedy hordes which surrounded them. They had also every thing to fear from Ali and his satellites. The lake was immediately covered with boats filled with the wives and children of the first families, who were being transported towards Zagori, by coasting along the shores which the Turkish army had not yet outflanked. The majority of the inhabitants either buried their riches, or had recourse to emigration. Irritated at this sight, Ali allowed his faithful Arnautes the pillage of a town, which he could no longer preserve, and which it was even his interest to destroy. Temples, private dwellings, public buildings, immediately became the prey of a wild and lawless soldiery. Treasures,

altars, and sanctuaries, were all equally exposed to their unbridled fury; while the privacy of the harem and public baths was invaded, and their unfortunate inhabitants subjected to all the horrors of brutal violence;—Mabometans and Christians were alike the object of their rage: there was no distinction.

Even the tombs of the Archbishops were forced open for the purpose of robbing them of the relics they contained, and which were enriched with precious stones. Gold, jewels, and rich merchandize, all became the object of pillage; and from the midst of this devoted city, which presented on every side the picture of desolation, rose loud outcries of anguish and distress, mingled with the clash of arms of those who were defending their domestic hearths against their merciless destroyers. The churches even were stained with the blood of these wretches, who quarrelled among each other for the sacred vessels and lamps, which were of silver gilt. To all these horrors succeeded one still greater. When the Arnauts had glutted themselves with pillage, upon an appointed signal, a most furious cannonading, accompanied with horrid outcries, announced the destruction of the city. Showers of bombs, grenades, and fire-balls, carried devastation, fire, and carnage into the different quarters of Janina, which no longer presented any other appearance but that of a vast conflagration.

Seated upon one of the bastions of his Castle of the Lake, Ali himself directed the cannonade, pointing out the spots which the flames had not yet reached. At his voice, the fire from the artillery redoubled with the utmost fury. In two hours, bazars, bezestans, public baths, mosques, and private dwellings, were overwhelmed by an all-devouring sea of fire.

Escaping from the progress of the flame, the Janiotes, having in their rear men half burnt, or otherwise wounded, women carrying their children, and old men bending beneath the weight of years, succeeded in gaining the fortified enclosure. Scarcely had they passed it when they were attacked by the outposts of the Turkish army. Far from protecting these unfortunates who had fled from fire and carnage, the Romelian hordes rushed upon the defenceless citizens, pillaged them, and tore the children from the embraces of their imploring mothers. A cry of terror and despair gave the signal of alarm to their companions behind, and the mass of the population immediately dispersed. But where could they find a refuge? Those who escaped the Turks were stopped in the defiles by the needy and rapacious mountaineers, who completed their spoliation.—The extremity of distress frequently rouses the weaker sex to uncommon exertions of physical and moral energy: women, carrying their children at the breast, traversed the chain

of Pindus, and in a single day performed the journey from Janina to Arta; many, seized with the pangs of childbirth, expired in the recesses of the forests: young virgins, that they might not fall the victims of lust, disfigured their native charms with dreadful gashes, as in the time of the ancient martyrs, and sought for refuge in gloomy caverns, where many perished with misery and hunger. The defiles and roads were all strewed with dead bodies, with the wounded and dying; and traces of the ruin of Janina presented themselves throughout all Epirus.

The Turkish army, whose only share in these latter events had been the pillage of the unfortunate Janiotes who had escaped the conflagration, waited for Baba Pacha, who arrived with his troops on the 19th of August. The next day Pacho Bey decamped, and marched towards the ruins of the capital of Epirus; they were yet smoking when he made his entry through the gate of Perilepti. Having had his tent pitched out of cannon range, and having read aloud the firman which conferred upon him the titles of Pacha of Janina and Delvino, he set up the tails, the emblem of his power, and took the title of Ismaël Pacha. From the height of his towers, Ali heard the acclamations of the Turks, who saluted the new Pacha with the names of *Vali* and *Gazi*, or the *victorious*. The Cadi immediately read the sentence which declared Ali

outlawed and deprived of his dignities: a Marabout, or Turkish priest, then threw a stone towards the fortress to which the outlaw had retired; and the anathema against the *black Ali*, now for ever cut off from orthodox Musulmans, was repeated by all the bystanders, with cries of *Long live the Sultan Mahmoud! So be it, Amen.* Loud shouts, and a lively fire from their guns and mortars, was the reply made by the besieged to the acclamations of the Turkish army, whose thunders were too impotent to reduce three fortresses so well fortified, and served by artillerymen who had been selected from the different armies of Europe. At the same time the small squadron of Ali, decked out gaily with all their colours as on a fête day, manœuvred about the lake in sight of the Turks, whom they saluted with bullets, as soon as they appeared inclined to approach the shores of the lake. Ali's garrison, which was about eight thousand strong, was composed of Dgedges, Toskides, and Franks or Europeans, all firmly devoted to him. An easy communication between the fortresses was kept up by means of their batteries. The Castle of the Lake, to which Ali had retired, was provisioned for more than four years, and had supplies of ammunition and warlike stores fully ample for a long and obstinate defence. Neither could water ever be wanting, as the castle was situated in the midst of a lake which abounded

with fish and aquatic fowls. Besides, Ali was master of the navigation, and the influence of his gold, operating upon the avidity of the peasants, would, in spite of all opposition, ensure him fresh provisions so long as a sheep or a goat was to be found in Epirus. His resolution was strengthened when he contemplated the martial figures who surrounded him, and who, having promoted the rebellion, could expect no quarter if once they fell into the hands of the Ottomans. Their cause was therefore identical with Ali's. Ali easily imagined that, amongst so numerous a garrison, many soldiers, accustomed to a desultory warfare, might be dissatisfied with the restraint imposed upon them by the nature of the service, and only awaited an opportunity to desert. This disposition he turned to his own advantage: he caused a list of the discontented to be drawn up,—it was numerous. Fifteen hundred of them he intended for a sortie, and ordered their full pay to be given them: and having afforded Odyssée, their chief, the means of entering into communications with Ismael Pacha, he opened his gates to them. Scarcely had they arrived in sight of the Turkish head-quarters, when their chief, bending his knee, saluted Ismael Pacha with the title of *Vali* and *Gazi*. The deserters were immediately received with military acclamations, complimented upon their resolution, and had a spot assigned them for bivouacking apart

from the rest. Ali having thus succeeded in his first object, which was to get rid of dangerous troops, soon rendered them suspected by the Ottomans, naturally jealous of the Albanians. Every day the latter were subjected to fresh humiliations. Odyssee increased their troubles still more, by suddenly withdrawing himself. They lost all traces of him in the mountains, whence he gained the Isle of Ithaca. The Armatolis, whom he had deserted, becoming more and more the objects of suspicion to the Turks, at length dispersed themselves through the mountains in the rear of the Ottoman army, which from this time they continued to harass by their incessant depredations.

It was now near the close of September, and the besiegers, who had neither heavy artillery nor engineers for commencing the siege in form, saw their provisions, which were brought by Greeks from Thessaly, daily diminishing. Want already began to make rapid strides throughout the camp. The Turks began to murmur, and exhibited symptoms of discontent, and even of sedition. Some of their chiefs accused Ismael Pacha of too great a love of power, and even of affecting sovereignty itself. An opportunity was eagerly sought after of rendering him an object of suspicion to the Divan. He felt his critical situation, and as he was aware of his incapability of effecting Ali's fall by military means, he found it necessary

to accelerate it by political intrigues. He first set on foot separate negotiations in order to induce Ali's two sons to submit. Veli was entrenched in Preveza, and Mouctar still occupied the fortress of Argyro-Castron: Ismael offered, to both, advantageous terms of capitulation under his own hand.

Whilst carrying on this double negotiation, he endeavoured to confirm the Divan in its hopes of being the eventual heir to Ali's treasures; and in order to engage it to wait more patiently, he proposed in the interval to put the Grand Seignior in immediate possession of all the real estate belonging to Ali and his family. It was necessary first to know the amount of their funded wealth, and the value of their flocks, the revenues of which were estimated at nearly 480,000*l.* sterling. To obtain this, the Divan required that Ali's three principal secretaries of state, who had been made prisoners, should be sent to Constantinople, in order to be interrogated and examined. But here the Grand Seignior's interest clashed with that of his generals. All examination was impossible, for it had so happened, that Colovo, who had undergone the torture, had died at Athens in consequence of his sufferings; that Mantho, who had betrayed his master, had been assassinated at a feast; and that Stephani, Ali's third secretary, had terminated his days in a prison. The Turkish generals,

therefore, could only send their heads as trophies to Constantinople. The negotiations of the Seraskier with Ali's sons terminated successfully. Veli capitulated, and gave up the fortress of Preveza to the Grand Seignior's lieutenant, at the same time professing a boundless attachment to his glorious Sultan. Mouctar's submission soon followed that of his brother Veli. But Hussein Pacha, Mouctar's eldest son, refused to surrender Tepelini. Having assembled the Toskides, he thus addressed them: "My father, my uncles, my cousins, and all who have been honoured by my grandfather's confidence, have betrayed it—shall Hussein Pacha do the same?" At these words the Toskides called out, unanimously, that they would all perish sooner than betray their master's grandson.

Ali was ignorant of the magnanimous resolution of Hussein, when he received the news of the defection of his three sons, for Sely Bey had also submitted. Preserving an admirable tranquillity in the midst of so many reverses, he contented himself by saying, "that he had been for a long time persuaded that his sons were unworthy of their race." He himself communicated the alarming intelligence to his garrison: "From this day," said he to his chiefs and soldiers, "the brave defenders of my cause are my only children and heirs." After this short but pithy ha-

range, he kept up a furious cannonade against the Turks, which lasted during the greater part of the night.

In the mean time the Turkish army had manifested the greatest enthusiasm at the news of the submission of Ali's sons; and mortars and cannon having arrived at the camp of Ismael Pacna, he immediately opened the trenches before the castle. Scarcely had the balls begun to batter the grand seraglio of Litaritza, when the Turks loudly demanded to be led to the escalade. This ardour, less the result of a warlike feeling than of a desire to plunder the treasures of Ali, much disconcerted the Seraskier, who had intended to terminate the war in a very different manner; being anxious to preserve Ali's riches from the pillage of his soldiers, that they might increase his own and the Sultan's treasures. To allay, therefore, in some degree the impetuosity of his troops, he represented to the principal officers the extreme folly of attacking sabre in hand a fortress defended by so many cannon, under the whole fire of which they would be obliged to march, without being covered by any fortifications. The ground was also quite exposed, no breach had yet been made in the place, and they had not even obtained a position from which to keep up a fire of musquetry on the besieged.

These objections, disseminated throughout the camp by the Seraskier's agents, did not, how-

ever, put an end to the murmurs. It was found that Baba Pacha, whose thoughts were solely occupied with pillage, was the promoter of these discontents; that he permitted his troops to pillage; and that at length, to consummate his bold insubordination, he had entered into a correspondence with Ali. It would have been the height of imprudence to have punished the Bulgarian in the midst of his hordes. But his sudden death left room for suspicion that Ismael Pacha had despatched him by poison: a method very generally adopted in Turkey when the use of the fatal cord is, from circumstances, deemed impolitic. An inventory being taken of his spoils, amongst them was found treasure amounting to about 60,000*l.* sterling. It was immediately sent off to the Grand Seignior.

Ismael Pacha, having thus got rid of his antagonist, began in his turn to form intrigues in the garrison of the Castle of the Lake. He succeeded in sowing discord between Ali, the Dgedges, and the Toskides, who were dissatisfied with seeing the aged Ibrahim Pacha, formerly their Vizier, still dragging on a miserable existence in irons: they loudly demanded his liberty. Ali, whom fortune now subjected to the severest trials, consented to set Ibrahim and his son at liberty, whom he immediately released from their dungeon. The seditious soldiers next insisted upon an advance of pay. Ali immediately increased it

to about 4*l.* a month, and at the same time made a proportionate advance in the pay of his other troops. "I never haggle," said he, "with my family, my adopted children; they shed their blood for me, and gold is nothing in comparison with the services I receive from them."

The whole of the chances were not, however, against Ali. Ismael Pacha found himself in a situation rendered still more difficult by the approach of winter. Already the early snows began to cover the summits of Pindus; and the different hordes of Macedonia, as well as the Spais of Thessaly, disbanded themselves for the purpose of returning home. The Souliotes also, to the number of seven or eight hundred, who had marched to the siege of Preveza, demanded, as the reward of their services, to be reinstated in their native mountains; undertaking at the same time to reduce the fortress of Kiapha, in which Tahir Abas, the most devoted of all Ali's satellites, had intrenched himself. But, whether Ismael Pacha had secret instructions, or whether he himself feared the Souliotes, he eluded their demand. Discontent soon found its way among the Albanian militia. It was increased by the tardiness of the operations. The siege of the Castle of the Lake did not advance. It often happened that the balls were not of sufficient calibre to make an impression against ramparts constructed of solid stone, and that the artillerymen threw empty

bombs, which the besieged returned well charged. For the purpose of procuring fuel, the Turks were obliged to rummage among the ruins of the town; and provisions had become very scarce in the Turkish camp, as the convoys were generally attacked by the licentious bands of *Odyssée*. Dissensions broke out between the Turks and the Christians, and even the Souliotes, to whom had been assigned a distinct bivouac. The discontent became general throughout all Epirus. The exhaustion of magazines, devastation of villages, and total consumption of their harvests, made the Christians regret even the government of Ali. They already dreaded the success of a siege which would but increase their former misery, and render their chains still more galling.

On his side Ismael Pacha flattered himself that he should overcome all obstacles, and finally accomplish the ruin of his rival. Thinking to transfix his soul with horror and alarm, he caused a fictitious report to be spread through his camp that his sons, who were exiled to Asia Minor, had been put to death. Whether Ali was now insensible to every misfortune, or whether the recollection of the defection of his sons had rendered him indifferent to their tragical end, his only observation was, "They betrayed their father; let us think no more of them."

To those who appeared bending beneath the shafts of adversity, he said, "Nothing but cou-

rage and perseverance can save us." To one who regretted his personal losses, he replied by recapitulating his palaces which had been burnt, and his property which had been confiscated, at the same time artfully holding out to him the prospect of immense wealth in case of victory. His magnificent Palace of the Lake had now disappeared; the four hundred and fifty females who composed his harem now lived under *blindages*, where fever and the scurvy committed the most cruel ravages. Any heart but his would have been broken. But a gradual wasting, caused by the grief which preyed upon his vitals, was observed at times in spite of his stoical firmness. From being very corpulent, he became thin; the former fire of his eye was exchanged for a gloomy dull expression; and his hands, which were formerly plump and covered with brilliants, now resembled those of a skeleton. It is true, he still preserved his guttural laugh, the veil under which he concealed the workings of his soul; for he triumphed not only over his years, but over his passions, and even over Nature herself. He never gave way to sleep but when extreme fatigue forced him to take some moments of repose. Having then retired to the further end of a bastion, furnished with some velvet cushions, the remains of former splendour, he rested his head upon the knees of Athanasi Vaïa, while Ibrahim Saratch, who had been his post-master, kept

guard at the door. He had reposed his whole confidence in these two men, who were the faithful and zealous executors of all his commands. At daybreak, he gave audience at the entrance of his chamber, mingling with his soldiers, and joking with them about the anathema hurled against him. "They should rather call me *Elmas Ali* (the Pearl)," said he, "instead of *Cara Ali*; for where, at my age, shall my equal be found in the whole Turkish empire? The cowards shall regret me some day, and shall learn from the evils I shall bequeath them, of what the *Old Lion* and his brave soldiers were capable." As soon as Moustai Pacha had returned to Scodra, the Montenegrins, who had retired into their mountains, meditated fresh attacks. Seditious movements were attributed to the Servians, who had become impatient of the Turkish yoke. The Roumili-Valisy, Achmet Pacha, received orders to quit Epirus for the banks of the Danube. In the midst of all this incertitude and alarm the siege proceeded very slowly. The good fortune which had conducted Ismael Pacha to the gates of Janina, now appeared to desert him. His undisciplined soldiers no longer respected his orders, and the whole army appeared disorganized. More than five thousand bombs had already been thrown against the castles of Ali, without producing any considerable effect. Impatient at the length of so unequal a struggle, the Sultan ad-

dressed a *hatti scerif* to Ismael Pacha, conceived in the strongest terms, in which he severely blamed his conduct and the inefficiency of his plans for reducing the rebel Vizier. Ismael would have infallibly yielded to the difficulties of his situation, if the sage and prudent counsel of Drama Mouhamet Ali Pacha, his father-in-law, had not revived and supported his drooping hopes. They both felt the necessity of pushing the siege and obtaining some successes, in order to satisfy the impatience of the Sultan.

The line of blockade was consequently drawn in closer, and every engine was set to work to disseminate the seeds of treason and sedition amongst the garrison. In the intervals of the siege, the soldiers of both parties frequently conversed with each other, and made mutual exchanges: some even smoked together. Both Ali and Ismael winked at this, from the same motive, that of being enabled to lay their snares more effectually. Ali, who was exactly informed of the situation of the Turkish army, by way of insult sent him sugar and coffee; he even offered to sell him provisions, that plenty might appear in his camp. But, under this affectation of indifference, he was meditating a most infernal plan. Finding that his only safety lay in the general confusion of all Epirus, and even of entire Greece, he secretly urged all the Christian tribes to revolt. But a *nucleus* was necessary: his gold furnished

him with the means of gaining over the Souliotes, and of these he formed his centre for a general insurrection. He sent them two thousand purses, about 40,000*l.* sterling, and gave them a letter to Tahir Abas, the commander of the fortress at Kiapha, ordering him to deliver it up to them. So secretly had this negotiation been conducted, that Ismael's first intimation of it was upon receiving intelligence that they had already seized the pass of Romanadez. They thence marched to the borders of the Acheron. Tahir Abas however, who had received contrary orders from Ali Pacha, refused to deliver up the fortress to them. Ali's object was nevertheless effected; for by compromising the Souliotes he obliged them to establish themselves in the mountains: there they united themselves to the Armatolis of the band which had been commanded by Odyssee, and to eight hundred Zagorites, whom Alexis Noutza had detached from the Grand Seignior's cause by exciting them to revolt. These insurgents, all being united, so harassed the Turks, that Ali, by this well-timed diversion obtained sufficient time to organize one of the greatest and most bloody rebellions which the Demon of discord ever excited upon the earth. Ismael Pacha, fearing the anger which the Grand Seignior would naturally feel upon finding himself deprived of the treasures he was on the point of obtaining, used his utmost endeavours to recall the Souliotes

to their duty; but without success. "Only assist me till the month of March," said Ali to them, "and the Sultan will then have so much upon his hands, that we shall be able to dictate the law to him."

The Grand Seignior, being informed of the situation of affairs in Epirus, and of the change which had taken place in favour of Ali Pacha, determined upon depriving Ismael Pacha of the chief command of his army; and named as his successor Churchid Mahomet Pacha, an old man, but one who to firmness and decision of character added also great experience and a considerable share of cunning, which last quality rendered him peculiarly calculated to oppose Ali, and to terminate this long-protracted war.

He at first excused himself on account of his years and the weak state of his health; but the Divan had no sooner assured him that he should have powerful reinforcements and the most ample powers, than the ambitious old man acceded to the wishes of the sovereign and his ministers. It was, indeed, high time that the conduct of the war was committed to able and experienced hands.

Already the rebel Vizier, whose resources were now reduced to a few thousands of brigands, and to fortresses shaken by the thunders of war, contemplated from the heights of his towers the devastation of his country, and the progress of that

vast revolt which he had organized. After an eighteen months' siege, Ali suddenly found himself, in the month of March 1821, supported by a general insurrection of the Greeks, which shook the Ottoman empire to its very foundation. We are at a loss to know to what we may attribute this important event; whether to the dark policy of Ali, or to some invisible and more powerful hand, which gave a simultaneous impulse to Montenegro, Servia, Valachia, Moldavia, and the Morea, or, in short, (which is the most probable) to the revolutionary spirit so prevalent and active in the present day. Thus, the war against Ali Pacha was the prelude and introduction to this desperate and bloody struggle. It was impossible but that Ali, from his intelligence with the Greeks, must have profited, either directly or indirectly, from so powerful a diversion.

On Easter day he made a successful sortie; and about the same time the insurgents, who commanded the road from Saint Dimitri as far as Arta, seized a convoy of two hundred mules destined for the Turkish army; which was suffering very severely from want of provisions, and was also nearly destitute of cannon and ammunition.

It was under these difficult circumstances that Churchid Pacha arrived to assume the chief command of the army before Janina. By the ascendant of his character, he easily succeeded in overcoming the spirit of jealousy and rivalry on

the part of the Pachas who were placed under his orders. He even retained as his first-lieutenants, Ismael Pacha, his predecessor, Mouhamet Ali Pacha, and Omer Bey Brioni, whose zeal had been sufficiently tried, and who was intimately acquainted with all the points of this tedious and difficult war.

Such and so great, indeed, were the embarrassment and alarm of the Divan, that Churchid did not hesitate to commence negotiations with Ali; especially as he knew that the Vizier had been particularly anxious to be reconciled to his sovereign. But Ali, informed of the state of affairs, and moreover fearing some snare, peremptorily refused all offer of accommodation till the Turkish army should be ordered to commence its retreat. Such a condition could not be named to such an adversary as Churchid, whose firmness enabled the Turkish army to maintain its position. But how great were the difficulties they had to overcome! The greater part of the warlike tribes of Albania sought to take advantage from the war between the Turks and Greeks, and regain their independence: they remained in their valleys, but prevented all convoys from arriving at the Turkish camp. The English party at Corfu also availed themselves of the present posture of affairs, to supply the Turks at Preveza with provisions, stores, &c. at the most exorbitant rates. They were forwarded from Preveza

under strong escorts to the camp before Janina.

When Churchid had been recognised Generalissimo of all the Turkish forces in Epirus, and had organized all the different branches of the service, he observed that Ali's faction chiefly consisted of a number of chiefs of brigands, or Kleftes, who, dispersing themselves through the mountains of Thessaly and Livadia, endeavoured, wherever they went, to excite the inhabitants to revolt, whether Musulmans or Christians. The Kleftes, called also Armatolis, and who had been likened to the Spanish Guerillas, had all originally formed part of Ali Pacha's army. This extraordinary man had enrolled under his banners, without distinction of religion or nation, all the brigands and public robbers, and had inspired them with a love and zeal for his service, either by great pay, or by the ascendant of his genius. Thus, during the continuance of his power, the Kleftes, till then unsusceptible of discipline, had maintained the most perfect order in these mountainous countries. Acquainted with all the localities, no other association of brigands could escape their observation. The proscription of Ali having first disorganized his power, and afterwards caused the breaking up of his army, all the chiefs of the Kleftes who had been connected with him, returned to their former trade and habits.

Ali had foreseen all these results, and had anticipated their favourable effect upon his cause: upon them were founded all his intrigues to foment rebellion; and thence the instructions which he had sent to his two sons, Mouctar and Veli, who were exiled in Asia Minor; for he knew that the report of their death was false. From the moment of their captivity Mouctar and Veli began to correspond with the former soldiers of their father, and by secret agents to convey to them money and instructions, to enable them to take the field.

The connexions which Ali Pacha formed in the Morea were still more important, and contributed to the success of the insurrection of the Moraites. His secret influence procured them the advantage of having for their allies the Albanians who inhabited Argolida, Tripolitza, and the interior of Greece: by this means the Turks became more and more isolated; and he established a stronger connexion between the insurgents of the Morea and of Epirus. Since the month of June, the revolt had extended itself to Thessaly, Ætolia, and Acarnania. Churchid, being then alarmed lest his line of communication might be intercepted or cut off, detached from his intrenched camp before Janina three separate corps, who were to fight and disperse the rebels, whose audacity had now become unbounded. The first corps was commanded by

Omer Bey Brioni, who marched upon Agrapha and Thessaly; the second, under the orders of Pliassa Pacha, was directed against Ætolia; and the third, conducted by Jousouf Pacha of Negrepont, took the road to Acarnania. The danger might be overcome so long as Parga and Preveza remained in the power of the Turks.

The presence and manœuvres of the Captain Pacha, who anchored near Preveza, materially contributed to maintain the garrisons of these places in their duty. This position covered, on the side of the sea and the mountains, the Turkish army at Janina and the operations of the siege. In proportion as circumstances became more serious, the most false and contradictory reports were spread by both parties. Sometimes it was affirmed that Ali was dead; and that the war would now be terminated, the cause of it having ceased to exist: at another time it was reported, that the Turkish army was in full retreat, or dispersed, and that Ali had re-entered Janina. What gave a greater colour to this latter report was the progress of the insurrection, and some retrograde movements of the Turkish army.

Churchid, with considerable acuteness, discovered the chief spring which set in motion the insurgents of Epirus. He communicated to the Grand Seignior his suspicions of the secret practices of Ali's sons. A Greek disguised as a dervise, who served as their spy, having been arrested

at Constantinople, the correspondence of which he was the bearer betrayed their secret. The dreaded Capidgi-Bachi, commissioned to bring to Constantinople the heads of Mouctar and Veli, set forward immediately for Asia Minor. Ali's two sons were under strict *surveillance*—the one at Koustania, the other at Keissarije: both fell by the hands of the executioner.

In the interval Churchid, who had gone for a short time into Thessaly, re-appeared before Janina. Having received strong reinforcements, operations against Ali were resumed. Cannon and mortars having arrived in his camp, the cannonade and bombardment recommenced. On the 24th July, the castle situated in the middle of the lake, and in which Ali was, took fire, and almost all his magazines were reduced to ashes. This dreadful conflagration, the cause of which was unknown, (the castle being out of the range of the guns,) lasted four days, during which time Ali exhibited an example of wonderful constancy and firmness.

Greater in adversity than he had ever shewn himself in prosperity, he was seen giving his orders, and providing for the general defence, with admirable *sang-froid* and unshaken resolution. Amid the general distress, he deprived himself of all the luxuries, all the comforts of life; sharing his bread, his tobacco, and coffee, with his brave companions in arms, and being henceforth

only anxious to live and die a soldier. The Greeks were charmed with his undaunted resolution and generous self-denial. The siege of Janina was, next to the operations of their fleet, of the greatest advantage to their cause. The as yet invincible resistance of the aged and intrepid Ali had greatly contributed to favour the insurrection of Peloponnesus and the Isles. The report of his death, which was again spread in Churchid's camp, was only a stratagem to discourage the Vizier's adherents. The siege of the forts of Janina soon became nothing more than a siege of *observation*. Out of seven Pachas three had been detached to combat the insurgents of Albania and Greece. Churchid himself began his march on the 2d September, with a considerable detachment of infantry, cavalry, and artillery, amounting to twelve thousand men. After three different attacks, equally sanguinary on both sides, the insurgents lost all their artillery, and were at length forced to retreat in disorder. Churchid then took up the position called the *Seven Pits*, and remained master of the communications with his principal corps, which continued the blockade of Janina. A Greek corps, which was marching from that town to Ali's assistance, halted upon learning the defeat of the insurgents of Epirus; and about six leagues from Preveza took up a position, for the defence of which the Greeks were obliged to collect all their dispersed corps.

Thus, upon every point along his line, Churchid, who had been reinforced from Bosnia and Vidin, resumed offensive operations with the greatest energy. He solicited and obtained from the Grand Seignior permission to negotiate with the Albanian insurgents, and to use moderation with the Mahometan chiefs. But the Grand Seignior was inexorable towards Ali Pacha. The *Old Lion*, so he was called by the Turks, was now at bay, in great want of provisions, and daily getting rid of the superfluous numbers of his garrison, by detachments of from one to two hundred men, who dispersed themselves among the mountains and up the country. Ali, by his numerous emissaries, neglected nothing to foment the general spirit of revolt; he was lavish of his treasures. It is asserted, that he placed about 80,000*l.* at the disposal of the provisional Greek Senate of Tripolitza, and that in the instrument by which he made over this donation to them, and of which two Albanian chiefs were the bearers, he assumed the name of *Constantine*, and felicitated the valiant Hellenes upon the favourable turn which their affairs had taken. Although the *Old Lion* fought only for himself, and not for the Greeks, it was very clear, that if he overcame his enemies, nothing but misfortune and ruin could result to the Ottoman empire. If, on the contrary, he yielded to the force of arms or the infirmities of age, it appeared impossible that Peloponnesus could

longer defend itself against the efforts of the Turks.

Churchid did not fail to communicate these considerations to the Divan, whose entire confidence he had gained by the accuracy of his views and the energy of his operations. On the 13th of November he received a fresh reinforcement of Asiatic troops, which increased his blockading army to twenty-five thousand men. He was also furnished with power to call upon all the neighbouring Pachas to join his standard whenever he should see occasion. He now, therefore, made dispositions for carrying the forts of Janina by escalade. At the same time, he manned and armed a small flotilla, for the purpose of attacking the Island of the Lake, which Ali was preparing to evacuate. Churchid announced to his soldiers, that the general assault would take place on the 20th of November. The reports which he disseminated with great ability, tended to produce defection amid Ali's garrison, and to induce him to enter into negotiations; for Churchid was particularly anxious to take him alive. In all the instructions which he received from Constantinople, he was expressly recommended to direct his principal attention to Ali's treasures, which were represented to amount to an enormous sum, in specie, jewels, and ingots.

But whether from bravado, or from a wish to keep up the drooping spirits of his soldiers, Ali

still swore that before the month of February he would plant the Greek standard upon the walls of Adrianople. But about December, being in want of every necessary, fearing to be deserted or betrayed, and pressed by the solicitations of his confidants, especially by his favourite Vasiliki; Ali at length resolved to open a negotiation. Churchid promised him that he would overcome the Grand Seignior's resentment, who still remained inexorable. Thus, after an eighteen-months siege and a most heroic defence, this extraordinary man, who had reigned as a sovereign over Epirus, was reduced to *bargain* for his life with the avenging ministers of the Ottoman Porte. It was not to be expected that so important a negotiation between two old men equally brave and artful should be brought to a speedy termination: it was suspended. Towards the close of December, Churchid, who had got possession of the Isle of the Lake, whether by force, or from its having been evacuated by Ali, limited his operations to confining Ali as closely as possible within his fortress. In vain had the rebel garrison given the *Old Lion* astonishing proofs of a noble and generous devotion to his person. The termination of all resistance was fast approaching. In these desperate circumstances, Ali, whose troops were now reduced to only six hundred, had to regret the desertion of his engineer Caretto, a Neapolitan adventurer, who im-

mediately, upon arriving at the Turkish camp, informed the besiegers how to direct the fire of their batteries with the greatest effect. The destruction of Ali was no longer doubtful in the Turkish camp, and at Constantinople. It might still, however, have been deferred, had not an epidemic, the inevitable consequence of a protracted siege, afforded Tahir Abas and Mouhardar Aga an opportunity of prevailing upon four hundred and fifty Albanians, who formed a part of Ali's little garrison, to open to Churchid the gates of the fortress of Litaritza. Ali was now reduced to take refuge, with about sixty of his most resolute adherents, in the citadel, a place very strongly fortified both by nature and art, and in which was the tomb of his wife Emineh. He had previously transported to this place provisions, his treasures, and an enormous quantity of powder, being determined to bury himself in its ruins rather than yield.

Having thus gained possession of the fort of Litaritza, Churchid immediately formed strong trenches from the points of Teke and Saint Maure, which completely surrounded the fortress of the lake, and thus cut off the *Old Lion* from all hopes of succour. Thus shut up in his last asylum, with a handful of men determined to brave death, Ali had it notified to Churchid, that it was his intention to set fire to two hundred thousand pounds weight of powder, and thus blow himself up, if

the Sultan did not grant him a pardon and his life. This was not a vain menace from a man who was more disposed to imitate the heroic end of the Caloyer Samuel and of Mustapha Bairactar, than the example of his own children, who had both fallen by the fatal cord: Churchid also knew that Ali kept, night and day, in his powder magazine a Turk named Selim, at all times ready to sacrifice his life, and who was always provided with a lighted match for the purpose of firing the magazine whenever his master should give the signal. It was upon this volcano, the fatal explosion of which a spark was sufficient to produce, that the *Old Lion* founded his last hopes. It was in this his purposed tomb that he had shut up his dear and devoted wife; and it was here that he every night repaired to snatch a few moments of repose.

These circumstances, as well as Ali's intentions, being known, kept the besiegers at a certain distance from the fatal tower: their courage was not proof against the two hundred thousand pounds of powder, which would in a moment have destroyed the existence of thousands. In this painful perplexity, Churchid, after having taken the advice of his council, had it announced to the rebel by one of his officers, sent with a flag of truce, that at length the Sultan had listened to his prayers and earnest solicitations, and had granted to the Vizier Ali his pardon; that he had

been empowered by the Divan to grant him a full and entire amnesty, provided he would immediately repair to Constantinople, and there prostrate himself before the feet of his master, who would be satisfied with this act of submission. That upon this condition his highness would permit him to retain his treasures; and that he might even, with a few followers, retire to any part of Asia Minor most agreeable to him, where he might end his days in tranquillity and peace. The Sultan's Seraskier added, that the firman of mercy was on the road; but that previously to its arrival it was necessary that Ali should repair to the Island of the Lake, there to confer with Churchid in person.

In short, to give him a proof of the sincerity of his reconciliation, and a particular guarantee for his safety, the Seraskier consented that every thing in the citadel should remain upon its present footing; that is, that the lighted match should still be entrusted to Selim, and the garrison continue in the same state.

Ali acceded to Churchid's proposals, whether he was blinded to his fate, or whether it was a part of his destiny to fall by the same snares which he had so often laid for his own enemies. He embarked with about a dozen of his officers, and repaired to the Island of the Lake. The Sultan's Seraskier had ordered a magnificent apartment to be prepared for Ali in the same mo-

nastery of Sotiras where he was accused of having starved to death Mustapha Pacha of Delvino. There for seven days Ali was treated with every mark of respect, and had frequent conferences with the Turkish generals, many of whom had formerly been attached to him. They continually assured him of the certainty of his pardon. Whether Ali was completely deceived, or whether he placed no confidence in the act of clemency and pardon, he still continued to form intrigues, and congratulated himself upon having accepted the first proposals of the Seraskier. His confidence also was increased by knowing that the fatal match was still in the hands of his faithful Selim, and that his treasures, placed upon barrels of gunpowder, would be blown up at the first signal; and that his head, without his riches, would be no gratification to the Grand Seignior, whose only object was his spoliation.

Such was the state of both parties, when, on the morning of the 5th of February, Churchid Pacha despatched to Ali, Hassan Pacha, formerly the Sultan's admiral, to announce to him that his pardon had at length arrived. The Seraskier congratulated him upon it, and persuaded him to answer this proof of the Sultan's clemency by a corresponding token of his ready and perfect submission. He therefore proposed to him, first, to order Selim to give up the lighted match; and, afterwards, to command the gar-

riſon to evacuate their laſt intrenchments, after having planted the Imperial enſign upon the battlements; and that then only the Grand Seignor's act of clemency would be declared to him in form.

This demand immediately opened Ali's eyes; but it was now too late. He answered, "that upon quitting the fortress, he had ordered Selim to obey his verbal order only; that any other, though even written and ſigned by his own hand, would be ineffectue with that faithful ſervant; and he therefore requested he might be allowed to go himſelf and order him to retire." This permiſſion was refuſed him; and a long diſpute followed, in which all the ſagacity and addreſs of Ali Pacha were of no avail. The officers of the Seraskier renewed to him the ſtrongeſt aſſurances, ſwearing even upon the Koran that they had no intention to deceive him.

Ali, after heſitating a long time, encouraged by a faint glimmering of hope, and convinced that nothing could now alter his ſituation, at length made up his mind. He then drew from the folds of his veſt the half of a ring, the other half of which remained in Selim's poſſeſſion: "Go," ſaid he, "preſent this to him, and that ferocious lion will be changed into a timid and obedient lamb." At ſight of this token from his maſter, Selim, having proſtrated himſelf, extinguished

the match, and was instantly poniarded. The garrison, from whom this murder was concealed, having had the order from Ali Pacha notified to them, immediately hoisted the Imperial standard, and were replaced by a body of Turkish troops.

It was now noon, and Ali, who still remained in the Island of the Lake, felt an unusual agitation, accompanied by extreme depression of spirits: he did not, however, suffer his features to betray the internal emotions of his soul. At this awful moment, with a firm and courageous countenance, he sat surrounded by his officers, who were for the most part desperately wounded, or worn out with fatigue and anxiety. Ali's frequent yawnings, however, proved that nature had not resigned all her claims upon him. But at sight of his arms, his daggers, his pistols, and blunderbuss, the stupor produced by over-excitement cleared from off his brow, and his eye again glistened with its former fire. He was seated fronting the door which led to the conference-chamber, when, about five o'clock in the afternoon, Hassan Pacha, Omer Bey Brioni, the Selictar of Churchid Pacha, and several other officers of the Turkish army, entered with their suite: the gloom upon their countenance was of direful presage. At sight of them, Ali arose with all the impetuosity of youth, and grasping one of his pistols—"Stop! what is it you bring me?" cried he to Hassan with a voice of thunder.—"The

firman of his Highness: know you not his sacred characters?" (shewing him the signature.)—"Yes, and I revere them."—"If so," said Hassan, "submit to your fate, perform your ablutions, and make your prayer to God and to the Prophet: your head is demanded." Ali would not permit him to conclude: "My head," replied he furiously, "is not to be delivered up so easily." These words, uttered with astonishing quickness, were accompanied by a pistol-ball, by which Hassan's thigh was broken. With the rapidity of lightning Ali drew forth his other pistols, with which he shot two more of his adversaries dead upon the spot, and already had levelled his blunderbuss loaded with slugs, when the Selictar in the midst of the affray (for Ali's adherents defended their master with the utmost fury) shot him in the abdomen. Another ball struck him in the breast, and he fell, crying out to one of his Sicares, "Go, my friend; despatch poor Vasiliki, that these dogs may not profane her beauteous form." Scarcely had he uttered these words when he expired, after having killed or wounded four of the principal officers of the Turkish army. Many of his followers had fallen by his side before the apartment was in possession of their adversaries. His head, being separated from his body and embalmed, was the next day sent to Constantinople by Churchid Pacha. It arrived there on the 23d February; the Sultan had it carried to the seraglio, where it

was shewn to the Divan, after which it was promenaded in triumph through the capital, the whole population of which, intoxicated with joy, were anxious to behold features which, when animated, had inspired so much terror. It was afterwards exhibited at the grand portal of the seraglio, with the decree of death affixed by the side of it.

Such was the end of Ali Pacha!—of that “Colossus,” say the Epirotes, “who has disappeared from among a people whose ferocity he had considerably softened; and who, had his energies been directed by better principles, might have been ranked among the friends and benefactors of mankind!”

THE END.

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